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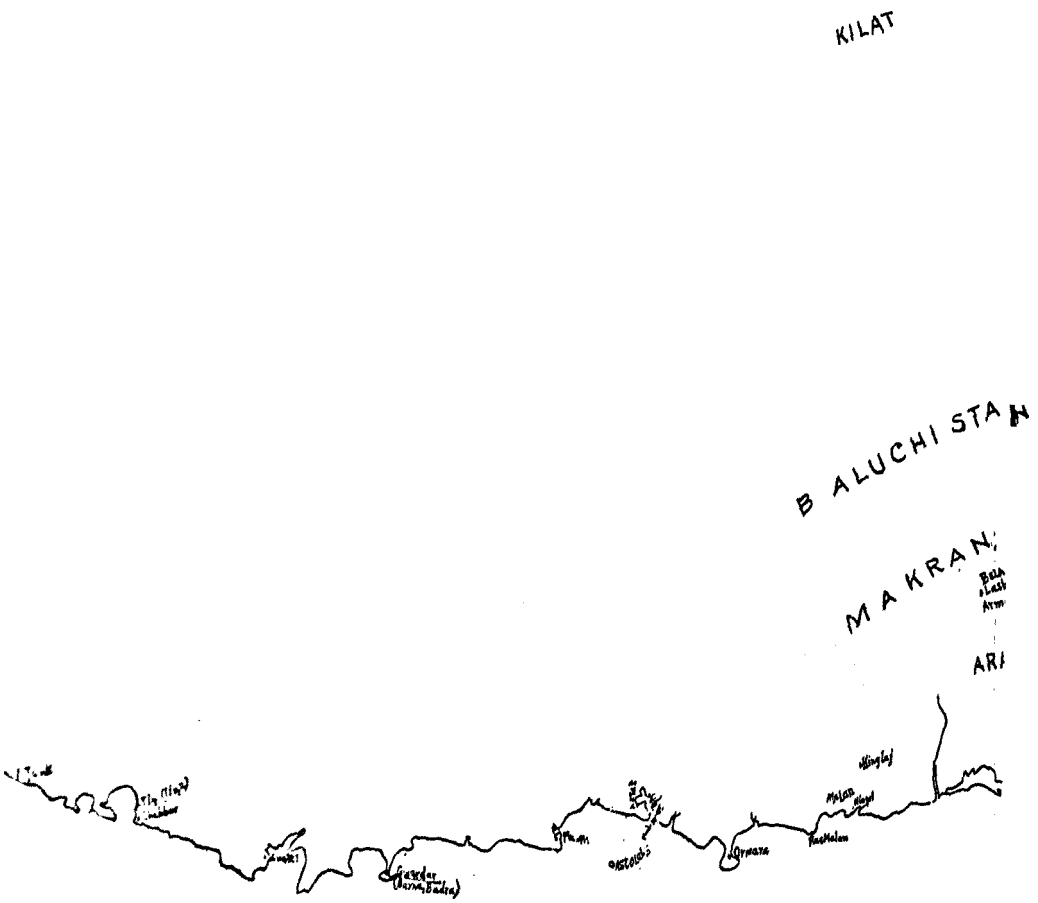
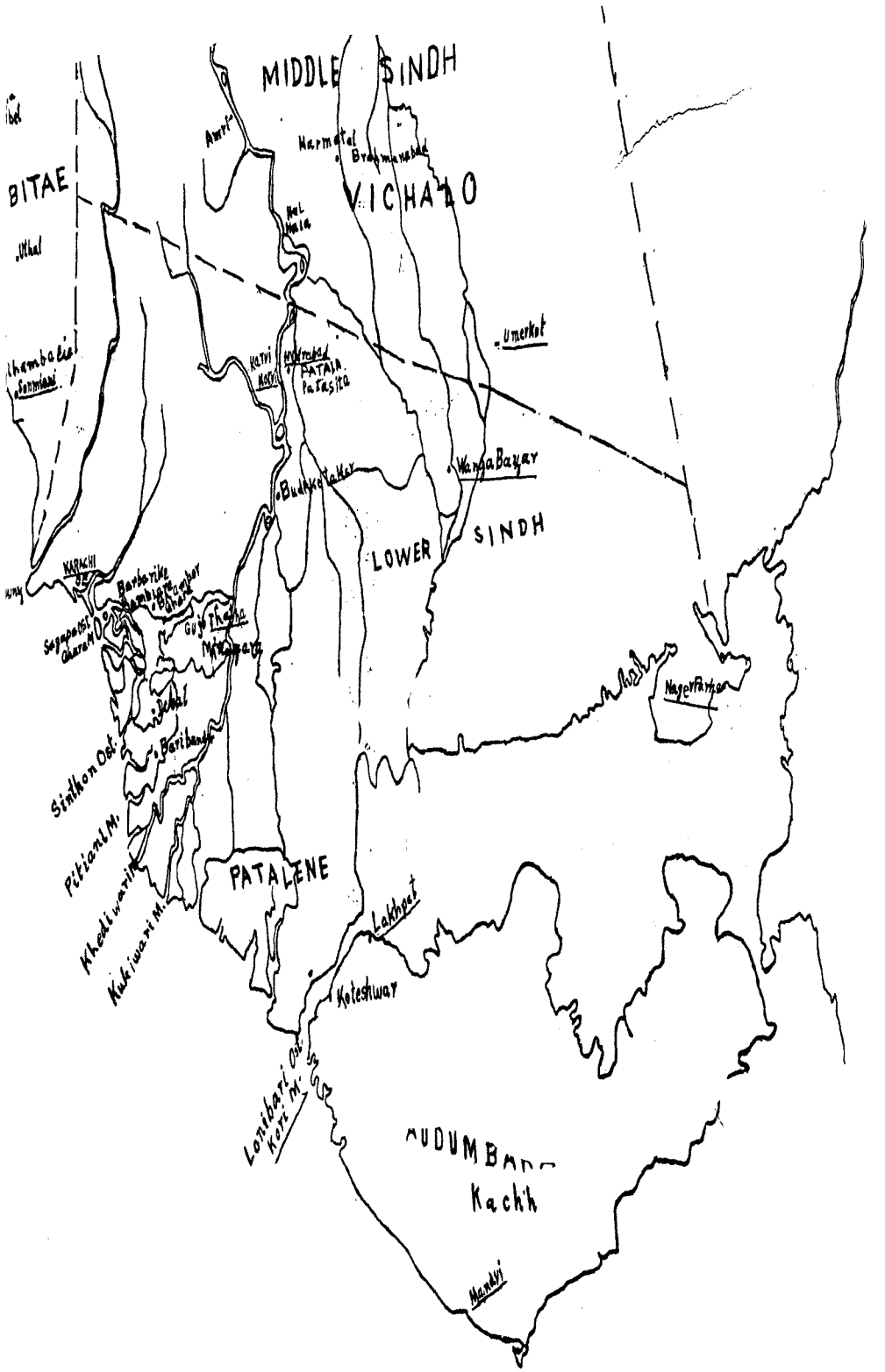


and Makran Coast
prepared by
N.M.Billimoria.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Kachh
Mandvi

IDENTIFICATION OF SOME OLD PLACES IN ANCIENT SIND

By

N. M. Billimoria. (With a Map)

(*Read 23rd September*, 1934)

In this paper you will find several contradictory statements made, for all the authorities cannot agree on the same point.

Claudius Ptolemy lived at Alexandria in the first half of the second century A. D. His work on Astronomy is as famous as his work on geography.

Early Classical Geographers.

1. Hecatoeus, B. C. 500. The first Greek Geographer. 2. Herodotus, B. C. 484-431, the Father of History, was a traveller. 3. The Indica of Ktesias, B. C. 398, the royal physician of Persia is full of old wives' tales, not to be trusted.

The march of Alexander the Great through the Punjab and Sindh brought, for the first time the direct Greek knowledge of India to the banks of the Sutlej. The great invader caused the whole of India to be described by men well acquainted with it. Some of the well-known men who had accompanied him wrote valuable memoirs, which are lost, but they furnished materials to subsequent writers. (1) DIODORUS who mixed history with fiction. (2) PLUTARCH. (3) STRABO, B. C. 60—A. D. 19; (4) CURTIUS A. D. 100; (5) the best of Alexander's historians, ARRIAN, A. D. 200; (6) JUSTINUS, not later than A. D. 500.

Megasthenes, B. C. 305, lived for a time in India; his writings are lost; only fragments remain for us.

About B. C. 240, ERATOSTHENES, who was placed in charge of the library at Alexandria, by the aid of mathematics laid the first foundation of a really scientific geography.

About two hundred years later, B. C. 60—A. D. 19, STRABO flourished.

PLINY the naturalist who lived from A. D. 23—79, deals with the geography of India in the 6th book of his Natural History.

The increase of trade with India created the demand of a guide book which was produced in the form of the "PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRAEAN SEA, by an annoymous writer, about A. D. 60, who evidently sailed round the coast of India. It contains the best account of the commerce carried on from the Red Sea and the coast of Africa to the East Indies during the time that Egypt was a Roman Province. It mentions river-mouths, ports, etc. with distances, exports, imports and such other details as a merchant would most value.

He has devoted in his PERIPLUS, over three paras to Sind, which I shall read to you with some of the notes of Wilfred H. Schof.

The river SINDHU (Indus) has supplied India with her two names—HINDUSTAN and INDIA. Sindhu (or Sindhu-s in the Nominative form) was pronounced with H instead of S by the Persians. Now the Greeks borrowed the word from the Persians and wrote it as Indus, there being no H in their alphabet. Thus Sindhu was changed to Indus and from the latter was derived India. Ptolemy mentions KOA and SOUASTOS as the western tributaries; the former is the Kabul river; and the latter Suvastu, Good dwelling, mentioned in the Rig Veda.

The followers of Alexander and Strabo mention only two mouths of the Indus. Periplus and Ptolemy give seven. There are now eleven. But changes are continually taking place. Sagapa, the western mouth, was explored by Alexander. It separates from the main stream below Thatha. In the chronicles of Sind it is called Sagara, from which perhaps the present name Ghara may be derived; it has long ceased to be navigable.

SINTHON.—This has been identified with the Piti branch of the Indus, one of the mouths of the Baghar river. This is the Kediwari (Haig's map shows it as Kokewari mouth).

KHARIPHRON.—Cunningham identifies this with the Kyar river of the present day which leads right upto the point where the southern branch of the Ghara joins the main river near Lari Bandar.

SAPARA.—This is the Wari mouth.
SABALAESSA is now the Sir mouth.

LONIBARE in Sanskrit is Lonavari (Lavana is Sanskrit for salt); it is now the KORI, but it retains its old name Launi.

All the large tributaries of the Indus with the exception of the Kabul River, join it on its eastern side. Strabo and Arrian state their number as 15; Pliny puts 19; Most of them are mentioned in one of the hymns of the Rig Veda.

Ptolemy includes in his INDO-SKYTHIA, the following, PATALENE, ABIRIA and SYRASTHRENE.

The first named after its capital PATALA, was the delta at the mouth of the Indus. Before its conquest by the Scythians it had been subject to the Græco-Bactrian kings.

The country of the ABHIRAS (commonly called AHIRS) lay to the east of Indus above where it bifurcates to form the delta. In Sanskrit works their name is employed to designate the pastoral tribes that live in the lower districts of the N. W. as far as Sindh.

SYRASTRENE represents the Sanskrit Surashtra (the modern Soruth) which is the name in the Mahabharata and the Purans for the peninsula of Gujarat.

PASIPEDA.—St. Martin thinks that this may be the Besmeid of the Arab Geographers; they tell us that it was a town of considerable importance lying east of the Indus on the route from Mansura to Multan. Arab travellers all concur in placing it between Rond (now Roda) and Multan, at a three days' journey from Rond and two days' from Multan. Its situation is therefore at Mithankot, where the great confluence now takes place. Cunningham thinks it strange that Ptolemy has not mentioned a famous place like Sehwan, which he identifies with SINDOMANA and ventures to think that it may be either his PIAKA or PASIPEDA. He says, "If we take Hyderabad as the most probable head of the Delta in ancient times, the Ptolemy's SYDROS which is on the eastern bank of the Indus, may perhaps be identified with the old side of Mattali, 12 miles above Hyderabad, and his PASIPEDA, with Sehwan. The identification of Ptolemy's OSKAMA with Oxykanus or Portikanus of Alexander and with the great mound of Mahorta of the present day is I think almost certain. If so, either PIAKA or PASIPEDA must be Sehwan."

For the omission of Sehwan by Ptolemy, Mr. Carter writes: "But it is more than possible Sehwan is not mentioned, because it was not founded. Concurrent Sindhi legend clearly fixes the Gupta period for the founding of Shivistan as this place appears

to have been first called. PISKA is, compared with the divarication of the river towards the Arbita Mounts, rather south of the site of Sehwan."

BONIS.—It is placed at the point of bifurcation of the western mouth of the river and an interior arm of it. The Arab geographers mention a town called BANIA in lower Sindh. The distance is of a single journey below Mansura. This double indication points out BANNA, which stands at the point where the Piniari separates from the principal arm about 25 miles above Thatha.

KOLAKA or KOLALA.—This place is probably identical with KROKALA of Arrian's *Indika* which mentioned it as a small sandy island where the fleet of Nearchus remained at anchor for one day. It lay in the bay of Karachi which is situated in a district called Karkalla even now.

PATALA.—We learn from Arrian that it was the greatest city in the parts of the country about the mouth of the Indus. He states that it was situated at the head of the Delta where the two great arms of the Indus dispart. It could have been easily identified had the river continued to flow in its ancient channel.

Rennell, Vincent, Burnes, and Ritter placed it at Thatha. Droysen, Benfey, Saint-Martin and Cunningham, at Hyderabad (the Nirankot of Arab writers), and McMurdo followed by Wilson and Lassen at a place about 90 miles to the N. E. of Hyderabad. The last supposition is untenable ; Hyderabad was at one time called Patalapur ; the arguments in its favour appear conclusive. PATALA figures conspicuously in the history of Alexander's invasion. In its spacious docks Alexander found suitable accommodation for the fleet which had descended the Indus and there he remained with it for a considerable time. Seeing its advantageous position for commerce and strategy, he built a citadel and made it a military centre for controlling the neighbouring warlike tribes. Before finally leaving India he made two excursions from it to the ocean. Patala in Hindu Mythology was the name of the lowest of the seven regions in the interior of the earth. Patala in Sanskrit means a trumpet-flower, and Cunningham thinks that the Delta may have been so called from some resemblance in the shape to that flower. (Bignonia Suaveolens).

BARBAREI.—Ptolemy places it by mistake to the north of Patala, though BARBARIKON, as Periplus mentions is a maritime port situated on the middle mouth of the Indus. D'An-

ville placed it at Debal Sindhi, the great emporium of the Indus during the middle ages, or at Karachi, while Elliot and Cunningham placed it at an ancient city of which some ruins are still to be found called Bambhara, and situated almost midway between Karachi and Thatha on the old western branch of the river. Burnes and Ritter placed it at Richel, and St. Martin a little further still to the east at Bandar Vikkar on the Hajamro mouth. In an old map which I have seen, it occupies the present position of Karachi.

BOUDAIA.—This is the fort of Budhya or Bodhpur, mentioned in the Arab chronicles of the conqust of Upper Sind and situated between Alor and Mithankot. Yule identifies it with Budhia a place to the west of the Indus and south from the Bolan Pass. It is mentioned in the *Chach Nama* several times, see pages part I, 11, 65, 95, 98, 99, 156.

KAMIGARA.—The ruins of Aror which are visible at a distance of 4 miles to the S.E. of Kori, are still known under the name of Kaman. To this word we add the common Indian affix Nagar, City, and we have a near approach to the Kamigara of Ptolemy.

BINAGARA.—It is identified with Alor. Yule and Mc Murdo place it much further south near Brahmanabad, which is some distance north from Hyderabad. Periplus puts it in the interior above Barbarikon.

POULINDAI AGRIOPHAGOI.—Pulinda is a name applied in Hindu works to a variety of aboriginal races. Agriophagoi is a Greek epithet and indicates that Pulinda was a tribe that subsisted on raw flesh and roots or wild fruits. In Yule's map they are located to the N.E. of the Rann of Cutch lying between the Khatriaioi in the north and Larike in the south. KHATRIAIOI are the people who held the territory between the Ravi and the Biyas.

RHAMNAI.—They are one of the oldest people in Indian ethnography. Their early seat was in the land of the Oreitai and Arabitai beyond the Indus, where Rhambikia was their capital. As they were connected with the Brahui whose speech must be considered as belonging to the Deccan group of languages we have here a fresh proof confirming the view that before the arrival of the Aryans, all India, together with Gedrosia (Baluchistan) was inhabited by the tribes of the same widely diffused aboriginal race, and that the Rhamnai, who had at one time been settled

in Gedrosia, had wandered thence as far as the Vindhya mountains. The Brahui are a Dravidian tribe, left behind by their race on its way to Southern India ; in earlier days the connection of both with the Persian Gulf was less broken. Curzon says that Makran is Dravidian ; while Brahui is thought to refer to the hero of the tribe, Braho, a name having the same root as Abraham.

BARAKE.—The Periplus calls the Gulf of Cutch by this name ; Ptolemy calls it Gulf of Kanthi. Even at the present day the south coast of Cutch is called Kanthi.

The people that possessed the maritime region immediately adjoining the Indus were the Arbitai or Arabies. In one of their harbours the fleet of Nearchus at the outset of his voyage was detained for 24 days waiting till the monsoon should subside. The harbour was bound to be both safe and commodious and was called by Nearchus the Port of Alexander. This is now Karachi. The name of the people was applied also to a chain of mountain and to a river, the Arabis, now called the Purali, which falls into the Bay of Sonmiani.

GYNAIKON LIMEN.—is mentioned by Arrian in his *Indika* ; this is women's haven, the port of Morontobara, near Cape Monze, the last point of the Pab range of mountains. The haven was so named because the district around had, like Carthage, a woman for its first sovereign.

While describing the eastern part of Makran, Hieun Tsiang mentions a city, the Chinese name of which has been Sanskritized as Women Paramount. Thus Ptolemy has been supported by this Chinese Traveller.

Megasthenes mentions several races and tribes especially the PANDAE, the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules had only one daughter, who was on that account the more beloved endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendents rule over 300 cities and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Among other tribes, the SINGHAE are represented at the present day by the Sanghis of Omarkot, called the SON by MacMurod, Descendants of an ancient Rajput tribe the Sanghars. The SYRIENI are the Suryanis who under that name have occupied the country near the Indus in the neighbourhood of Bakkar. DARANGAE is the Latin transcription of the great race of the Jhadejas, the rulers of Cutch. BUZAE represent the Buddas an ancient branch of the Jhadejas. The UMBRAE are represented by the Umranis,

and the NEREI perhaps by the Nharonis who though belonging to Baluchistan had their ancestral seats in the regions of the East of the Indus.

Let us identify some places according to Civilian Carter.

Eiros is Rerhi ; Krokala is Waghodar ;

In the neighbourhood of Rerhi is a fissure specially sacred to a crocodile, and still known as Waghodar, the crocodile's doorway. Of the antiquity of the cult of the corcodile in the delta of the Indus there can be no doubt, and Krokala really means the crocodile's places. He quotes :

"Then the first harbour after Rerhi the large and commodious Alexander's Haven is Ghizri Creek, the mouth of the River Malir. It was protected by an island which has now become "tied." The subsoil water around the lower course of Malir River is very brackish as sea water percolates through the sandy soil. The bay sheltered by the island of Domai must be Karachi Harbour lying under the lee of Manora, and water would be obtained by sending fatigue parties inland to dig in the bed of the Lyari.

The River from the Arbita Mounts is the River Baran.

BONIS is Tharro at the bifurcation of the Jamwah and Khanwah canals.

KOLAKA is Bhambher hill, near Gharo, the old Killoutis ; not Krokala which is Eiros-Rerhi.

SAGAPA is Sagala ; the word survives in Mirpur Sakro ; in middle Sind the word is nasalized to Sangro.

KHARIPHRON is a mis-pronunciation of كارڙو kharo the mud wastes along the coast away from the main stream ; Compare Sindhi گڑ Gar, a clod, گڑھ kha slimy land marked with cattle tracks.

Pushtu Khaerr خراڑ muddy or dirty. The present Kharo is around the mediaeval Lahori Bunder.

ARBITA Mounts are Pabb Mts.

SOUSIKANA is either Jungshah or a large mound on the right bank of the Kalri, a few miles east of Tharro, which still awaits excavation.

SARBANA is Sarmana, Sudderan jo dhado, near Tando Md. Khan at the extreme SE corner of Ganja Takar. The stupa here is of the 4th century but the hill on which it stands bears many unexplored antiquities.

AUXOANIS is Gabr jo Daro ; two large unexplored mounds (the mounds of the Gabi) a few miles SE of Tando Md. Khan from خوان khan, a persian fire altar.

ASTAKAPRA (ast, bone) The reference must be to the equivalent of tower of silence kept by the Persians.

XADRAKA, is Hyderabad. Possibly from كدڑو a hermaphrodite. There is still a Khadro station a few miles north of Mirpur Khas.

PARDABATHRA is either Mirpur Khas on dhoro purano, where is a 4th century stupa or possibly Bathri (Dilurai Nagari) a few miles west of Brahmanabad on the Lahano or Marakh Wha.

PANASA (the quarries from Sindhi Pahan پاڻ a stone) is Sukkur-Bukkur-Rohri whence the Tharro neolithic flints are obtained.

The HAVEN in Syrastrene is Alexander's Haven, Ghazri Creek.

SOKSTRA represents the end of a big trade route from Gadrosia to the Indus Valley. This route was probably the line of the Karachi Sehwan road, running W of the Black Mts. The eastern boundary of Gedrosia follows the edge of the Karachi Kohistan and then cuts across from Sehwan to the Gaj Nai. In other words the S. half of the Larkana district belonged to Gedrosia and was the cold weather grazing lands of the cattle-men of Kohistan, they being prevented from coming, as they do now into the delta lands which was of too much importance as trade routes to allow of tribal disturbance.

From Ptolemy's map we learn :—

1. The province of Syrastrene was formed by Lower Sind with Cutch and Kathiawar.

2. Abiria is a small district ; it would be the country between Hyderabad and Patalene.

3. The place names recorded by Ptolemy are of various tongues ; They are Greek (Theophila) ; Persian (Xoana) with several strata of Indian names (Parisiene, Panasa, Nagramma, Luniwari); Hybrid, (Aristo-Bathra, Parda-Bathra ; what about Monoglosson?

4. It clearly shows Sokstra as an advance post of Gedrosia dominating the Indus. The fort of Kamigara is above, and Binagara is below it ; both on the Indus and in Indo-Sythia, and obviously intended to prevent further advance towards India ; the meaning of the names are wooden-fort and mud-fort. In Ptolemy's Sind there are no *nagars* ; the generic name for a city is *graama*. The Sindhis cannot pronounce the word nagar ; he says *nangar*.

5. Religion appears as mixed as race. Zoroastrianism has been shown in, Auxoanis, Xoana, Astakapra.

   Buddhism appears in Boudaia, and Sarmana.

   Incipient Hinduism in the name Pasipeda.

   But the cults of Vishnu and Siva, nothing appears.

At the time Ptolemy was writing the Indo-Iranian invasion of India had not yet ceased. This is supported by two points :

1. The high frequency of names beginning with AR in the lands lying west of Sind.

2. The fact that the river Arabis is certainly the Purali, while the Arbitai were living east of it, in the country towards the Indus valley. For exactly parallel case we may refer to the Karmati Baloch, who now occupy Mirpur Sakro taluka in the Indus Delta but derive their name from the River Kalmat, a small stream of the Makran. Their migration began about four centuries ago and finished about a century ago.

Quintus Curtius is clear about that Arbitai :

Nonis castris in regionem Abaritarum, inde totidem diebus in Cedrusiorum perventum est..... Quinto hinc die venit ad flumen Arabon incolae appellant,—the translation of the above is

He reached the country of the Arabites in the course of nine encampments, and thence in the same number

of days to the land of the *Cedrosii.* On the fifth day from this he came to the river which the natives call Arabis.

We find the Arabites living fourteen marches east of the River Arabis.

In A. D. 641, when the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang visited India Sindh was divided into four principalities, which may be described geographically, as Upper Sindh, Middle Sindh, Lower Sindh and Cutch.

The whole formed one kingdom under the Ruler of Upper Sindh, who was a Sudra. Also Taki Vazir Budhiman of Chach is reported in the Chachnamah (p. 25) to have said that Sahasi appointed each of the four chiefs to each of the four divisions in order that they might try their best to collect the revenue for the treasury, and to protect the country. The Upper Sind is now known as Siro, that is Head or Upper division. It is well known that Alor was the capital of Sindh before and after Hwen Thsang's visit, A. D. 641. This Chinese pilgrim places the capital to the west of the Indus, whereas the present ruins of Alor or Aror are to the east of the river. The Indus formerly flowed to the east of Alor, down to the old channel, now called Nara. The change in the course did not take place until the reign of Raja Dahir or about fifty years after the visit of the Pilgrim. The desertion by the Indus of Alor is attributed to the wickedness of Dahir ; but the gradual westing of all the rivers that flow from north to south is the real cause. The change of course is said to have taken place in Dahir's reign, that is about A. D. 680; and as Mahomed Kassim was obliged to cross the Indus in order to reach Alor, it is certain that the river was permanently fixed in its present channel before A. D. 711.

In Upper Sindh the places of ancient note are Alor, Rori, Bhakar, and Mahorta near Larkana. Side by side with ancient towns it is necessary to describe the ancient tribes or nations.

On leaving the confluence of the Punjab Rivers, Alexander sailed down the Indus to the realm of the Sogdi, where he built a city. Diodorus describes the same people under different name; "continuing his descent of the river, he received the submission of the Sodrae and the Massanae, nations on opposite banks of the stream, and founded another Alexandria in which he placed ten thousand inhabitants." Curtius in the life of Alexander describes the same people "On the fourth day he came to other

nations, where he built a town named Alexandria." I believe Alexander built about 13 towns and called them all Alexandria. It is evident that Sogdi of Arrian and Sodrae of Diodorus are the same people ; the former are identified with Sodha Rajputs by Tod and M'Murdo and the latter with the servile Sudras by Mr. Vaux. The Sodhas who are a branch of the Parmars now occupy the south eastern district of Sindh about Umerkot, but M'Murdo states that they once held large possessions on the bank of the Indus to the northward of Alor. Abul Fazl states that the country from Bhaker to Umarkot was peopled by the Sodhas and Jharejas in the time of Akbar. General Cunningham in his Ancient Geography states that Massanae of Diodorus are the Nusarnei of Ptolemy, whose name still exists in the district of Muzarka to the west of the Indus below Mithankot. Genl. Cunningham identifies the Sodi or Sodrae with the people of Seori, which was captured byHusen Shah Arghun on his way from Bhakar to Multan. In his time (A. D. 1525) it is described as the strongest fort in that country. It is about 8 miles NE of Sbzalkot, the village Sirwahi is inserted in old maps, which may probably represent the Seorai of Sindhian history. It is 96 miles in a direct line below Uchh, and 85 miles above Alor, or nearly midway between them. The Arab Geographers place a strong fort named Bhatia between Multan and Alor ; this must be very likely the city which Alexander built among the Sogdi. It seems probable that it is the same place as Talhati where Jam Junar crossed the Indus and perhaps also the same as Matila or Mahatila which was one of the six great forts of Sindh in the 7th century. Ferishta describes Bhatia as a very strong place; it was taken by assault in A. D. 1003 by Mahomed of Gazni after an obstinate defence in which Raja Bije Rai was killed. From the territory of the Sogdi, Alexander continued his voyage down the Indus to the capital of a king named Musikanus. His kingdom was described as the richest and most populous throughout all India, and the country produced everything in abundance. This description can only be applied to Alor. Its ruins are situated to the south of a gap in the low range of limestone-hills which stretches from Bhakar towards the south for about 20 miles until it is lost in the broad belt of sand hills which bound the Nara or old bed of the Indus on the west. To the NE it was covered by a second branch of the river which flowed nearly at right angles to the other at a distance of 3 miles. In A. D. 689 the latter was probably the main stream of the Indus which had been gradually working to the west. According to old historians the final change was hastened by the excavation of a channel through the northern end of the range of hills between Bhakar and Rori. The original name of Alor seems to be Rora, to which

the Arabic prefix al was added ; for Biladuri and other Arab authors call it Alror. This derivation is countenanced by the name of the neighbouring town of Rori, as it is common practice in India to duplicate names. So Rora Rori would mean Great and Small Rora ; Rora means noise, clamour roar or fame. It is possible that the full name may be Rora-pura or Rora-nagar. Cunningham thinks that Alor may be BINAGARA of Ptolemy, as it is placed on the Indus to the eastward of Oskana (p. 152, Ptolemy, ed. by McCrindle ed. by Majmudar). This city of Musikanus was of some importance for Alexander ordered Kraterus to build a castle in the city ; he left a strong garrison in it for the fort seemed extremely useful in keeping the neighbouring nations in subjection.

From this capital Alexander allowed his fleet of boats to continue their course down the River while Alexander marched against a neighbouring prince named Oxykanus, and took two of his cities at the first assault. The name of the city must be Uchcha-gam, or Portagam lofty town in allusion to its height. It is identified by Cunningham with a great mound of Mahorta on the bank of the Ghar river, ten miles from Larkana. At present Mahorta is within a few miles of the river ; but in the time of Alexander when the Indus flowed down the bed of the Nara, the nearest point of the stream was at Alor, from which Mahorta was distant 45 miles to the SW. Hence Alexander was obliged to leave his fleet and to *march* against Oxykanus. Both commercially and politically the site of Mahorta was a position of great importance as it commanded the highroad from Sindh, *via* Kachh Gandava to Kandahar ; since its downfall, Larkana has occupied its position . Larkana is ten miles west of Mahorta.

Ptolemy's Badana must be the present Gandava, as the letters B and G are constantly interchanged.

The principal places in the middle or vachlo Sindh are Sehwan, Hala, Hyderabad and Umerkot. In the middle ages under the Hindu rule the great cities were Sadusan, Brahamana, or Bahmnawa and Nirunkot.

In order to prove that Nirunkot was the modern Hyderabad and the ancient Patala it should be included in the part of Lower Sindh or Lar. Close to Bahmnawa the early Mahomedans founded Mansura, which as the residence of their governors soon became the largest city in Sindh. In the time of Alexander, the only places mentioned are Sindomana, and a city of Brahmans, named Harmetelia by Diodorus. From the city of Oxykanus

Alexander led his forces against Sambus ; the Raja abandoned his capital Sindomna, which according to Arrian was delivered to Alexander by the followers of Sambus. Cunningham identifies Sindomna with Sehwan, partly from its similarity of name and partly from its vicinity to the Lakki mountains. There is no doubt about its antiquity ; as the great mound, which was once the citadel, the accumulation of ages, on a scraped rock, at the end of the Lakki range of hills. In ancient times, when the river flowed down the eastern channel of the Nara, Sehwan was not less than 65 miles distant from its nearest point of Jakrao, where it leaves the sand hills. At present the water supply is entirely derived from the Indus, which flows under the eastern and northern front by a channel called the Arral from the great Manchar Lake, which must have existed long before the change in the course of the Indus. The lake abounds in fish ; hence its name, Sanskrit Matsya, Hindi Machh, fish. M'Murdo says Sehwan is undoubtedly a place of vast antiquity perhaps more so than either Alor or Bahmana. It seems strange that Ptolemy has not mentioned such a famous place like Sehwan. If we take Hyderabad as the most probable head of the Delta in old times, then Sydros, mentioned by Ptolemy, which is on the eastern bank of the Indus may be identified with old site of Mattali, 12 miles north of Hyderabad, and Ptolemy's PASIPEDA with Sehwan. Cunningham identifies Ptolemy's Oskana with the Oxykanus or Portikanus of Alexander, and with the great mound of Mahorta of the present day. If so, Piska or Pasipeda must be Sehwan.

It was captured by Muhammad Kasim in A. D. 711 (page 92, Chachnamah) and by Mahamud of Gazni in the eleventh century.

Curtius in Alexander's Life states "Alexander....*rursus amnem in quo classem expectare se jusserat, repetit. Quarto deinde die, secundo amne, pervenit ad oppidum, qua iter in regnum erat Sabi,*" which I translate "Alexander marched back to the river, where he had ordered his fleet to await him. Thence, going down the river, he came on the fourth day to a town, through which there was a way to the kingdom of Sabus." when Alexander quitted his fleet at Alor the capital of Musikanus, to march against Oxykanus, he did not intend to go to Sindomna, as Sambus the Raja had already submitted. He must have ordered his fleet to wait for him at some point on the river not far from the capital of Oxykanus. Cunningham thinks that point must be somewhere about Marija Dand on the old Nara, below Kator and Tajal, as Mahorta is about equidistant from Alor and Kator. Thence coming down the stream he reached on the fourth day a town,

through which there was a road to the kingdom of Sambus. From Marija Dand, the point where Alexander joined his fleet the distance to the ruined city of Brahmana, or Brahmanabad, is 60 miles by land and 90 by water. As this distance could be accomplished in four days, Brahmana was the actual city of the Brahmans, descibed by the historians of Alexander. Here at Harmatelia that Ptolemy was wounded ; this place is described as the "last town of the Brahmans on the river." Harmatelia is only a softer pronunciation of Brahma-thala or Brahmana-sthala, just as Hermes, the phallic god of the Greeks is the same as Brahma, the original phallic god of the Indians. It was Mr. Bellasis who discovered the ruins of this old city. They are situated near the old bed of the Indus, 47 miles NE of Hyderabad 28 miles to east or north east of Hala, and 20 miles to the west of the eastern Nara. The place is known as Bambhra-ka-thul, or the ruined tower, from the broken brick tower which is the only thing that existed. The great mound is entirely surrounded with a rampart, mounted with numerous turrets and bastions. In the time of Akbar, Abul Fazl in the Ayin Akbari states that it had 140 bastions one tanab distant from each other. (A tanab equals 150 feet) ; so the circuit of the city was four miles. According to tradition Brahmanabad was destroyed by an earthquake in consequence of the wickedness of its ruler, Dilu Rai, about A. D. 757. The same stereotyped legend is told of all the old cities in the Punjab, and in Sind, Shorkot, Harapa, and Atari are said to be destroyed on account of the sins of their rulers ; so also, Alor, Brahmana, and Bambhura. The excavations of Bellasis show conclusively that the Town was overwhelmed by an earthquake. Shortly after the Mahomedan conquest Brahmana was supplanted by Mansura. Biladuri states it was founded by Amru, son of Mahomed Kasim and named after khalif, Al Mansur, who reigned from A. D. 753 to 774. But Masudi states that it was founded by Jamhur, the Governor of Sindh, under the last Omnicad Khalif, A. D. 744 to 749, who named it after his own father Mansur. The new city was built so close to Brahmanabad that Ibn Haukal, Abu Rihun, and Idrisi all describe it as the same place. Ibn Haukal states "Mansura which in the Sind language is called Bamiwan." The place was so much decayed that in 1025 when the conqueror of Somnath passed through Sindh, the plunder of Mansura was not sufficient to tempt him out of his direct route; so he passed on by Shewan to Gazni leaving the old capital alone.

In the time of Alexander the only well known place in the Delta was Patala. But he is said by Curtius *"interim et urbes plerasque condidit,"* to have founded several towns himself

during the long stay in Lower Sind waiting for the Etesian winds to start his fleet. Only one name is known, *viz.* Barce. While Ptolemy gives the names of Barbara, Sousikana, Bonis, and Kolaka ; It is believed that Barbara is Barbarike emporium, mentioned in the Periplus—and perhaps same as Barce. In A.D. 60, the capital of Lower Sind was Minnangara, which the foreign merchants reached by going up the river from Barbarike. The Chinese traveller mentions Patasila or Patala. But the historians of Mahomed Kasim (A. D. 711) mention Debal and Nirankot. The Arab geographers place Manhatra or Manhabari or Manjabari to the west of the Indus and two day's journey from Debal.

The position of Nirunkot is fixed at Hyderabad by several well known writers. Only Sir Henry Elliot places it at Jerak. Now Hyderabad is 47 miles from the ruined city of Brahmanabad or Mansura, and 85 miles from Lari Bandar, ancient Debal ; while Jarak is 74 miles from Brahamanabad and only 60 from Lari-Bandar. In a note by the translator of Chachnamah on page 71 states "Bazil arrived at the fortified town of Nirun—now HYDERABAD. Nirunkot was situated on a hill, and there was a lake in its neighbourhood of sufficient size to receive the fleet of Mahomed Kassim. For in the Chachnama page 89 part I, we read" Mahomed Kassim ordered the battering rams to be put in boats and taken to the fort of Nerun. Accordingly the boats (with their burden) were put under way in the lake, called the lake of Sangrah, while he himself went by way of Sisam." Mirza Kalichbeg adds a note to the word Sisam—"it is said that at that time the main stream of the Indus flowed eastward of the town of Nerun (now Hyderabad) most probably through the present bed of the Fuleli....." The Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang travelled in A. D. 641 from Koteshwar the then capital of Cutch a distance of 117 miles, from whence he proceeded to Brahmanabad, 50 miles. And as Hyderabad or Nirunkot is exactly 120 miles to the north of Kotesar in Cutch and 47 miles to the SW of Brahamanabad, there should be no hesitation in identifying it with Pitasila of the Chinese pilgrim.

Ptolemy states that the head of the delta was exactly halfway between Oskana and the eastern mouth of the Indus, called Lonibare ostium. This fixes Patala at Hyderabad which is at an equal distance from the capital of Oxykanus, that is from Mahorta near Larkana and Kori or eastern mouth of the Indus.

The Delta formed an equilateral triangle ; and the coastline from the Ghara mouth on the west to the Kori mouth on the east is about 125 miles. The distance of Patala from the sea may be

about 125 to 135 miles. Now the distance of Hyderabad from Ghara or western mouth is 110 miles, and from the Kori or eastern mouth 135 miles, both of which agree sufficiently near to the base measurement that the Delta formed an equilateral triangle. Consequently Patala which was at or near the head of the Delta may be certainly identified with the present Hyderabad.

Jarak is a small town on an eminance overhanging the western bank of the Indus, about half way between Hyderabad and Thatha. Jarak is the present boundry between Vachlo or middle Sindh and Lar or lower Sindh, which has been extended so as to include Hyderabad, (Patala and Pitasila) within the limits of ancient Delta. It is perhaps the same Khor or Alkhor of the Arabian geographers. Three miles south of Jerak there is a low hill in ruins, called Kafir Kot attributed to Raja Manjhira. Amongst the ruins were found some fragments of Buddhist statues.

We read in the Chachnama that in A. D. 1296 Alaudin Khilji appointed Nasarat Khan to go with ten thousand men through the districts of Multan, Uch, Bakhar, Sehwan and Tatta to put down adverse tribes.....The word Thatha means shore or bank, so Nagar Thatha would mean city on the river bank. The chief city of Lower Sindh was Saminagar the capital of the Samma tribe, which stood on a rising ground, three miles to the NW of the site of Thatha. The site of Thatha is very modern but those of Saminagar and Kalyan-kot are very ancient. Cunningham thinks that Thatha was the actual position of Manhabari of the Arab geographers and of Minnangara of the author of the Periplus. Manjabari, Manhabari, is the city of the Mand tribe, just as Saminagar was the city of the Samma tribe. The Mand tribe have occupied Lower Sind in great numbers from the beginning of Chritian era. The Mands are described as a numerous and brave tribe, who occupied the desert on the borders of Sindh and India, and extended their wanderings as far as Alor on the north, Makran on the west, and Mamehel or Umarkot on the east. It is said that Med and Zat, two descendants of Ham, the son of Noah, were the progenitors of the people of Sindh prior to the Mahabharata.

The Sythian name Min in Sindh is sufficient to suggest the presence of the Scythians; but its connection with them is placed beyond doubt by the mention that the rulers of Mannangara were rival Parthians, who were mutually expelling each other as we learn from the Periplus. These Parthians were Dahae Scythians from the Oxus who gave the name of Indo-Scythia to

the valley of the Indus, and whose mutual rivalry points to their identity with the rival Meds and Jats of the Mahomedan historians. If it is right to identify Min-nagara or the city of the Mins and Mandabari or the place of the Mand, there can be little doubt that the great Indo-Scythian capital was at Thatha. According to the author of the Periplus the vessels anchored at the emporium of Barbarike, where the goods were unloaded and conveyed to the capital by the river. Just as it was done more recently, the ships anchored at Laribandar or Diul Sind, while the merchants carried the goods to Thatha either by land or water. If Minangar was Thatha, it can be identified with Ptolemy's Sousinkana, that is Susi-gama or the town of the Sus tribe, an etymology which is supported by the fact that the Mands or Meds were a branch of the great horde of Sus or Abars who gave one name to Susiana at the mouth of the Euphrates and the other to Abria at the mouth of the Indus.

Barbarike Emporium or Bhambura is now a ruined town, situated at the head of the Ghara creek ; it is the site of the most ancient seaport in Sindh. About the tenth century Bhambhura was the capital of a chief named Bhambo Raja. The most westerly branch of the Indus once flowed past Bhambhua. Cunningham is inclined to identify Bhambura not only with the town of Barke, which Alexander built on his return up the river, but also with the Barbari of Ptolemy and the Barbarike emporium of the author of the Periplus. Ghara river had already begun to fail before A. D. 200. As stated in the Periplus the merchant vessels navigated the Indus upto Barbarike, where the goods were unloaded and conveyed by boats to Mannagar, the capital of the country. After a time this channel also failed and when the Arabs invaded Sindh in about 711 A. D. Debal had become the chief port of the Indus and altogether supplanted Bhambura or the ancient Barbarike.

About Debal Sindhi and Debal I have said sufficient in my paper read before our Society in February 1934 ; so I will not repeat the arguments about its locality. At least Cunningham fixes it at 5 miles north of Laribandar ; 17 miles SW of Bhambura ; and 30 miles from Piti or Pintiani mouths of the River.

The name of the tribe Arabi or Arabies is derived from River Arabis, which devided their territory from that of the Oritae ; this boundary river was the Purali which flows through the present district of Las into the bay of Sonmiani. In the life of Alexander we read that he reached the eastern boundry of the Arabitae in nine days from Patala and in five days more their wes-

tern boundry. The distance from Hyderabad to Karachi is 114 miles, and from Karachi to Sonmiani 50 miles. Karachi must have been on the eastern frontier of the Arabitae. The Kolaka of Ptolemy and the sandy island of Krokola, where Nearchus stayed with his fleet for a day is identified with a small island in the Bay of Karachi. Krokola is further described as lying off the mainland of the Arabii. It was about 17-18 miles from the western mouth of the Indus which agrees exactly with the relative positions of Karachi and the mouth of the Ghara river ; we should take into account the advancement of the coastline about 5 or 6 miles during the 21 centuries that have passed since the advent of Alexander. On leaving Krokola Nearchus left Mount Eiros (Manora) on his right hand, and a low flat island on his left ; this is an accurate description of the Karachi harbour. Then he reached Morontobara, called "Women's Harbour." Cunningham identifies Morontobara with Murai, that is the headland of Ras Muari, or Cape Monz, the last point on the Pabb range of Mountains. Bara or bari means a roadstead or haven ; and maronta seems to be feminine of Mard ; the haven itself may be between Cape Monz and Sonmiani. At the mouth of the Arabius, Nearchus found a large and safe harbour, the present bay of Sonmiani at the mouth of the Purali, which Pottinger in his travels of Baluchistan describes as "a very noble sheet of water capable of affording anchorage to the largest fleet."

On crossing the river Arabius, Alexander penerated further into the country and came to the small village of Rambakia, (Sonmiani) the capital city of the Pritae ; they had submitted to Alexander as soon as he approached them. He appointed a governor and deputed Leonatus with a large force to await the arrival of Nearchus with the fleet and to see that the new town was properly peopled. After Alexander's departure the Pritae revolted and killed th new governor ; but Leonatus defeated and severely punished them. Cunningham identifies the Oritae with the people on the Aghor river. On the bed of this river there are several jets of liquid mud called from time immemorial Ram-Chandra-ki-kup, Ramchander's wells. There are also two natural caves, one dedicated to Kali and the other to Hinglaj or Hingula Devi that is the Red Goddess. The pilgrims assemble at Rambag, because Rama and Sita are said to have started from this point and proceed to Gorakh tank where Rama halted ; and thence to Tongabhera and on to the point where Rama was obliged to turn back in his attempt to reach Hingula with an army. Rambagh is identified with Rambakia of Arrian. At Rambakia therefore we must look for the site of the city founded by Alexander, and which he left behind Leona-

tus to complete; this appears to be the sixteenth Alexandria near the bay of Melane. Nearchus places the western boundary of the Oritiae at Malana, which must be the bay of Malan, to the east of Ras Malan, or cape Malan of the present day, about 20 miles west of the Aghor river. Curtius states *"in hac quoque regione urbem condidit"* in this place also he built a town—but does not mention the name.

The occurrence of the name of Rambaugh at so great a distance to the west of the Indus, and at so early a period as the time of Alexander, is very interesting and important as it shows not only the wide extension of Hindu influence in ancient times but also the great antiquity of the story of Rama. Cunningham states that during the flourishing period of Buddhism many of the provinces to the west of the Indus adopted the Indian religion which must have had a powerful influence on the manners and language of the people.

During the latter part of 1876 Major E. Mockler travelled along the Makran coast from Gwadar to Jask and tried to identify the ancient and modern names of the Makran Coast. His Paper "on the identification of places on the Makran Coast mentioned by Arrian, Ptolemy and Marcian" has been published in the Journal R. A. S. Great Britain and Ireland, New Series Vol. XI, pages 129-154. The tests he has employed for the identification of each place are : 1, measurement according to the distance given by the author quoted ; 2, topographical description ; and 3, similarity of name. I need not go into the arguments that he has adduced for identifying certain places, but I will state only the places identified. Teza is Tez mentioned by Ptolemy and Arrian. The order of Marcian's stages is from west to east, contrary to that of Arrian's. After the river Kandriakes is mentioned which is Chandrishshep (Shep in Baloohee means a small torrent). Bagia promontory is Cape Bes or Baganee. Pasa-Bandin is an excellent little harbour south of Gwadar (Bandin is the Balochee word for harbour) this is Kuidza of Marcian. Karpella is Koh-Mubarak of the present day. Gwadr (a) is identical with Badra of Marcian or Barna of Ptolemy. Talmena or Taluman is Chahbar.

The city of Armail, Armabel, Karabel, or Las Bela is of great historic interest. We know from Chachnamah that the province of Las Bela was part of buddhist kingdom which extended from Armabel to the modern provinces of Gandava in Sind. The great trademark for the Buddhist on the frontier was

a place called Kandabel, which Elliot identifies with Gandava, the capital of the province of Kach Gundava. In the Chachnamah we read on page 39, that Chach came into the desert and no one dared to fight with him till he arrived at Kandail (or Kandhabel) otherwise called Kandhar." Elliot condemns this in accuracy for he recognises but only one Kandhar in Afghanistan. But there is a Kandhar or Kandahar in Kach Gandava, and Sir Thomas Holdich says in his "Gates of India" that there are ruins enough in the neighbourhood to justify the suspicion that this was after all the original Kandabel rather than the modern town of Gandava. Sir Th. Holdich believes that the capital of this ancient Budha or Budhiya kingdom had been Armabel rather than Kandabel ; for we find in the Chachnamah page 38 that when Chach marched in the direction of Armabel—the town was in the hands of a Buddhist Samani descended from the agents of Rai Sahiras, King of Hind, whom the Rai had elevated for their loyalty and devotion. This happened in the second year of the Hijra.

The Manhanari of Istakhri, Manbatara of Ibn Haukal, or Manabari of Idrasi again brings before the usual difficulty of two places with similar names. General Haig has shown us that there was a Manjabari on the old channel of the Indus, nearly opposite Mansura, about 40 miles NE of the modern Hyderabad, which corresponds with the description of the Arabian geographers, who have put Manhabari at two days' journey from Debal on the road to Armail. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting the whole para from Sir Th. Holdich's "The Gates of India" about ancient Manhabari. He states As we have now decided what direction that road must have taken, after accepting General Haig's position for Debal, and bearing in mind Idrisi's description of the town as "built in a hollow" with fountains, springs, and gardens around it, there seems to me but little doubt that the site of ancient Manhabari is to be found near that resort of all Karachi holiday makers called Mugger Pir. Here the sacred alligators are kept, and hence the recognised name ; but the real name of the place, divested of its vulgar attributes, is Manja or Manja Pir. The affix Pir is common throughout the Bela district, and is a modern introduction. The position of Mugger Pir with its encircling walls of hills, its adjacent hot springs are gardens (so rare as to be almost unique in this part of the country) its convenient position with respect to the coast, and, above all its interesting architectural remains mark it unmistakably as that Manhabari of Idrisi which was two days' march from Debal,"

The small but populous town of Khur has left some records of its existence near the Malir waterworks of Karachi where there is a very fine group of Arab tombs in a good state of preservation. There is village nearby called Khair, and the actual site of the old town cannot be far from it. It is directly on the road connecting Debal with Manhabari.

I may mention that General Haig identifies Debal with a ruin covered site 20 miles SW of Thatha and about 45 miles ESE of Karachi.

All these ancient cities eastwards of Makran have groups of remarkable tombs, constructed of stone, and carved in beautiful design and they are well preserved. These tombs are locally called "Khalmati." These remains are most likely Khalmati and belong to an Arab race who were once strong in Sind and who came from the Makran coast at Khalmati.

A. W. Hughes in his "Country of Baluchistan" page 55 writes that in the immediate vicinity of the Hinglaj temple in the Las district the great place of pilgrimage for Hindus are said to be figures of sun and moon hewn out of the rock; and while mentioning Hinglaj another spot sacred to the same race must not be omitted—this is the small island of Satadip, situate a short distance off the Makran coast between Ormara and Pasni wither many pilgrims proceed after visiting Hinglaj. This island is the Asthetal of the Arabs and Balochis and anciently known by Ptolemy as Asthae (*Asthaia*) and as Kamina by Nearchus. Masson states in his Narrative of various journeys in Baluchistan, etc. 4 Vols. 1842-43) that many of the names of places on the Las and Makran shores, as given by the Greeks, are retained to this day and he instances the stations of Malana, Araba, Kalama, Derembosa and Kophas as mentioned by Arrian to be readily recognisable in the present Malan, Araba, Kalamat, Darambab, and Kaphan, as named by the natives.

Let us see if we can trace the ancient towns and identify them. *Ballabhipura* was according to Tod destroyed in the 15th century by an irruption of the Parthians &ce. The date of the event from Jain records fixes in A. D. 524. *Mankir* or *Manakir* bears a suggestive resemblance to *Minagara*, A city which Ptolemy places on the Nerbadda. The Sanskrit Mahinagara; Mandir is said to mean great centre; so that maha, great, and nakir a bad transcript in nagar. Juzr or Jurz is Gujarat. Hwen Tsang the Chinese traveller who visited India in 629 and

645, visited the kingdom of Su-la-cha or Saurashtra and Kiu-che-la or Gujjarat. *Kashbin,* Tod identifies with Cutch Bhuj; *Agam the Lohanas.* In Chachnama we find frequent mention of a chief under the name of Agham Lohana, who was Governor of Brahmanabad in the time of Chach : Lohana is the designation of a powerful tribe which at that period is said to have included the Sama and Lakha clans. The Lohanas derive their name and origin from Lohanpur in Multan ; the date of their emigration must have been very early. Agham or Aghamkot lies about 30 miles SE from Hyderabad : it is now forgotten, as Agham is mentioned as early as the time of Mahomed Kasim; we may presume that it derived its name from the Lohana Cheiftan who was a contemporary and opponent of Chach. Alor the ruins of the town lie between Bakkar and Khairpur; the Band spoken of by Burnes in his travels is really an arched bridge; the 1st syllable is Arabic AL and the real name Rur, as it survives in the modern town of Rori which stands closely by the ruins of Alor. Amhal Famhal : looking at its position at 2/3rd the distance between Mansura and Kambya it would answer to Anhalwar ; Kamhal is the best reading. ARMABEL. its position corresponds with the modern Bela the capital of the province of Las. It is placed on a considerable eminence—a strong and rocky site on the northern bank of the Purali (the Arabis of the ancients) ; there are old Mahomedan sepulchres and other vestiges of antiquity in its neighbourhood, especially about 5 miles to the W which seem to indicate its greatest importance at some former period. Coins, trinkets and funeral jars are occasionally found there ; and in the nearest point of the contiguous hills, separating the province of Las from the old town of Jhow, numerous caves and rock-temples exist. Bela is mentioned in the native histories not simply as Bela but as Kara-Bela.

Askalanda—Uchh—Alexandria. The ancient kingdom of Sind was divided in four Satrapies of which the third comprised the fort of Askalanda and Maibar which are also called Talwara and Chachpar. It is evident from the description of the other satrapies that this one contained the whole tract N. E. of Alor, S. E. of the Panjna and Gharra, in short the present Daudpoutra country. Now Maibar and Chachpar still exist under the modernised names of Mirbar and Chachar, close together at the very junction of the Acesines and Indus, on the eastern side of the river opposite to Mitankot and in them we should have to look for Alexandria. Baniya. The name occurs in the list of cities of Sind, the Bhati mentioned by Burani and Batiya of Cha-

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chnama are probably variant spellings of the same name. Idrasi says that it is a small but pleasant place about 3 days journey from Mansura on the road to Mamhal. Bhambur—Barbarike not mentioned in old writers but it is mentioned in modern native historians as having been captured during the khilafat of Harun Rashid ; it is the scene of many legendary stories of Sind, and owes its destruction in a single night to the divine wrath which its ruler's sins drew down upon it. Its ruins skirt the water's edge for ¼ of a mile and covers a low hill almost surrounded by a plain of sand a little to the right of the road from Karachi to Ghara and about 2 miles from the latter place. It may possibly represent the Barbarick Emporium of the Periplus and the Barbari of Ptolemy. But opposed to this is the statement of Arrian that Barbarike was on the centre stream of the Delta. Brahmanabad—Mansura. Mahfuza. Brahmanabad after being intermediately succeeded by the Arab capital Mansura is now represented by modern Hyderabad. A native historian says Nasrpur was built on the site of Mansura. Baladuri tells us that Hakim had built Mahfuza on the Indian side of the lake or body of water his successor built Mansura on this western side. M. Reinaud says "Mahfuza was built in the neighbourhood of the capital (Brahmanabad) on the other side of the lake fed by the waters of the Indus." Mansura was 2 parsangs from Brahmanabad-Masudi ascribes Mansura to Mansur son of Jampur ; Alburani to Mahomed Kasim ; but Biladuri is the best authority and he ascribes it to Mahomed Kasim's son Amru. Mansura is identical with Hyderabad ; Ibn Haukal lays down: "from Mansura to Debal 6 days journey on the supposition that Debal is our present Karachi. Mansura to Turan 15 days journey ; Mansura to Kandabel (Gundava) 8 days journey &c" Since then Mr. Bellasis has discovered the site of old Brahmanabad ; the exact position is 47 miles north east of Hyderabad, Debal, Karachi, Thatta, Lahori Bandar. There is no question that Debal was on, or close to, the sea coast, with which distant inland position of Thatta is by no means correspondent.

Sir H. M. Elliot entertains little doubt that Karachi itself represents the site of Debal. The very name of Debal or rather Dewal temple was doubtless acquired fromt the conspicuous position which that object must have occupied from the sea; where it was calculated to attract the gaze and reverence of passing mariner like its fellow shrines of Dwarka and Somnath; and as there is no other so eligible and commanding a spot along the whole coast of Sind from Cape Monze to Koteshwar it is highly probable that the promontary on which Fort Manora now

stands is the identical site occupied by the celebrated temple which gave the name to the port of Debal. Manora is the name of one of the celebrated Buddhist patriarchs. Lahori Bandar or Lari Bandar succeeded Debal on the sea port of Sind and is first named by Biruni but Debal had maintained its position down to the time of Jalaludin's incursion into Sind in A. D. 1221; in Ibn Batuta's time we have no mention of Debal, 1333 A. D. Lahaio has itself been taken as Debal. A historian distintly mentions "what is now Bandar Lahori was in former times called Bandar Debal." The original name was most likely Lari, being so called after Lar, local name of the South portion of the Province of Sind. A passage from Burani reads "where after saying that the Gulf of Turan (present bay of Sonmiani) lies between Tez and Debal, he adds that beyond the Gulf of Turan are the small and great mouths of the Indus and one near the town of Loharani, the other to the east, on the borders of Kachh. The country between them bears the name of Sind Sagar or the sea of Sind; Loharani is here mentioned as quite distinct from Debal and was then evidently only just rising into importance".

Hala-Kandi. The ruins of old Hala or Hala-Kandi on the Indus, 35 miles above Hyderabad, lie to the South East of the present site. Had its name appeared in Chachnama, we might have ascribed its foundation to Raja Hal: Told in his Travels in West India names a later prince of the Samma family as its founder.

Janrud; about a mile or half a parsang from Multan was the castle or fortified residence of the Governor which Istakhri calls Janrud. Ibn Haukal makes clear and says "Jandaruz is river and the city of Jandaruz stands on its banks. Jandarud or Jamrud is a port on the Chenab.—Kaikanan—Kaikan—Kakars. The expedition of A. H. 44 to the country between Multan and Kabul certainly shows that Kaikanan must have comprised the Sulemani range to the south of Gamal, and the celebrity of its horses would appear to point to a tract further to the west including Saharawan and Mushki where horses are in great demand. *Kalari*, *Anari*, and *Ballari*. They are three neighbouring towns on the road from Alor to Mansura. Annari is 4 days journey from Alor; Kallari two days' from Annari and Mansura only one day from Kallari. *Kandabel Turan*, *Budha*, *Baiza*. Kandabel can scarcely be any other place than the modern Gandava; K. was founded by the Persian King Bahaman between the confines of the Hindus and the Turks. K. was the capital of Budha and a large place of commercial traffic, deficient in the produce of the date palm, and situated in a desert stages

from Mansura and ten through the desert from Multan. Gundava which is the capital of the province of Kachh Gandava is surrounded by a wall and is still one of the most important places between Kelat and Shikarpur though greatly declined from its former state. Old tract of Budh or Budhya very closely corresponds with the modern province of Kach Gandava. In the very centre of K. G. there is still a place called Budha on the Nari River. The position of *Kanzabur* corresponds with that of the modern Punjgoor in Makran. Manjabari is on the West of the River. Three days journey South from Sadusan (Shiwan) and two days short of Debal ; it is the Minangara of the ancients. Minangara, there are two places of the same name ; one on or near the Indus, the other on the Nurbudda. The former was the capital of Indo Scythia and Ninangara or Agnigara of Ptolemy. We know that in the 12th century Minagar was one of the cities dependent on Multan and was in possession of a chief by caste an Agri, decended from Alexander.

Nirun, Sakura—Jurak. Two geographers tell us Nirun lies between Debal and Mansura, but nearer the latter and that any traveller who wishes to go to Mansura must cross the river Indus at Manjabari which is on the western bank and stands opposite to Mansura. Idrasi places it on the western bank ; and Abdul Fida says it is 15 parsangs from Mansura and fixes it in Lat. 26°-40.

The stream of Sakara of Sagara corresponds with the prolongation of the Gisri or Ghara Creek which at no very distant time must have communicated with the Indus above Tatta. Nirun is placed at Helai Halaya, a little below Jarak on the high road from Tatta to Hyderabad. It has a direct communication by a road over the hills with Bela and would be the first in the valley of the Indus which the Arabs could reach by land and therefore nearest to the capital of the Khilafat ; lakes abound in the neighbourhood and are large enough especially the Kanjar to have admitted Md. Kassim's fleet. Nirun is represented 25 parsangs from Debal (the distance from Halai to Karachi is 75 Eng. miles). It was 15 parsangs from Mansura (35 miles is the distance between Halai and Hyderabad); certainly Nirun is not Hyderabad. Sadusan is modern Sihwan or Siwistan. Samu was the capital of the Jams of the Samma dynasty ; it was founded by Jam Panya under the Makali Hills about 3 miles North East of Tatta, subsequently the fort of Tughlikabad was built by Jam Taghur on the site of the older Kalakot about 2 miles South of Tatta. The name Tughlikabad is now comparatively

forgotten and that of Kalakot has restored the claims of Raja Kala. The ruins of Samui city of the Sammas are to be traced near Tatta.

Tur was the ancient capital of the Sumra dynasty called also Mehmeter. It was situated in the paragna of Darak ; the ancient Pragna of Dirak is represented by the modern division of Chachagam and Balban on the borders of the Tharr or sandy desert between Parkar and Wanga Bazar. There is a pragna of Dirak still included in Thatta. Another capital of the Sumras is said to be Vijchkot five miles to the east of Puran River above Allah Band.

The site of Tur is occupied by the modern Tharri near Budina on the Gangru River. The real position is at Shakapur, a populous village about 10 miles South of Mirpur. Near that village the fort and palace of the last of the Sumras is pointed out whence bricks are still extracted of very large dimensions measuring no less than 20 by 8 inches.

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Travel and trade in the Indian Ocean by a merchant of the first century. Written A. D. 60-70.

PERIPLUS was the name applied to a numerous class of writings in Roman times which answered for sailng-chart and travellers' handbook. The title might be rendered as "guide-book to the Erythraean sea".

The Erythraean Sea was the term applied by Greek and Roman geographers to the Indian Ocean including its adjuncts the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Erythra means Red, so that the modern name perpetuates the ancient.

37. Beyond the Ommanitic region there is a country also of the Parsidae, of another Kingdom, and the bay of Gedrosia, from the middle of which a cape juts out into the bay. Here there is a river affording an entrance for ships with a little market-town at the mouth, called Oraea ; and back from the place an inland city, distant seven days journey from the sea, in which also is the King's court ; it is called (probably Rhambacia.) This country yields much wheat, wine, rice and dates ; but along the coast there is nothing but bdellium.

38. Beyond the region, the continent making a wide curve from the east across the depths of the bays, there follows the

coast district of Sythia, which lies above toward the north; the whole marshy ; from which flows down the river Sinthus, the greatest of all the rivers that flow into the Erythraean Sea, bringing down an enormous volume of water ; so that a long way out at sea, before reaching the country, the water of the ocean is fresh from it. Now as sign of approach to this country to those coming from the sea, there are serpents coming forth from the depths to meet you ; and a sign of the places just mentioned and in Persia, are those called graae. This river has seven mouths, very shallow and marshy, so that they are not navigable, except the one in the middle, at which by the shore, is the market-town Barbaricum. Before it there lies a small island and inland behind it is the metropolis of Sythia, Minnangara ; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out.

39. The ships lie at anchor at Barbaricum, but all their cargoes are carried up to the metropolis by the river, to the King. There are imported into this market a great deal of thin clothing, and a little spurious ; figured linens, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold plate, and a little wine. On the other hand there are exported costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli Seric skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn and indigo. And sailors set out thither with the Indian Etesian winds, about the month of July, that is Epiphy ; it is more dangerous then, but through these winds the voyage is more direct, and sooner completed.

40. Beyond the river Sinthus there is another gulf, not navigable, running in toward the north ; it is called Eirion.....

NOTES.

Country of the Persidae...is Persia proper, including Carmania. Ommana was subject to the Parthian monarchy, not to Persia proper. Pliny says "Persia is a country opulent even to luxury, but has long since changed its name for that of "Parthia." Strabo observes "at present the Persians are a separate people, governed by kings who are subject to other kings; to the kings of Macedon in former times, but now to those of Parthia."

ORAEA. The bay of modern Sonmiani and the river is the Purali. The Purali at the time of Periplus emptied into a bay running some distance inland and now silted up to the coast lines. These are the people described by Arrian under the name

of Oritae or Oritians, their country being called Ora. The river was called Arabis and on its eastern bank dwelt "an Indian nation called Arabians" ; while the Oritae on the western bank were "dressed like the Indians and equipped with similar weapons, but their language and customs were different." Their coast-line ran westward from Arabis 160 to 200 miles. They dwelt on the inland hills, and along the shore, the latter being distinguished as Fish-eaters. Alexander conquered the hill-folk and colonized their capital Rhambacia under his own name ; while Nearchus fought the coast-folk reporting them "covered with hair on the body, their nails like wild birds' claws, used like iron for killing and splitting fish, and cutting soft wood, other things they cut with sharp stones having no iron."

Strabo describes their dwellings made of the bones of whales and great shells, the ribs being used for beams and rafters and the jawbones for doorways.

The Oritae are represented by the modern Brahui. Both names have the same meaning "hill-folk", one in Greek and the other in Persian. The country of ORA is rather related to the URU of Chadean place—names, being connected with the sun worship that survived well into the Christian era. The Brahui are a Dravidian tribe left behind by their race on its way to South India ; in earlier days the connection of both with the Persian Gulf was less broken. The name "Makran" according to Curzon is Dravidian ; while "Brahui" is thought to refer to the hero of the tribe, Braho, name having the same root as Abraham. These people are probably the same as those called by Herodotus "Asiatic Aethopians" and again "Aethopians from the sunrise" who were similar to the Aethopians of Southern Arabia, both peoples being represented in the Persian army, and both having presumably sprung from the same stock. The Cushite name seems to survive in Kej, in the valley of Makran ; the Kesmacoran of Marco Polo.

Holdich (Gates of India, 36) seems to have in mind a race resembling African negroes as the original of the "Asiatic Aethopians" in Makran. But their descent should have been from the Persian Gulf.

RHAMBACIA.—at no great distance from the modern Las Bela.

BDELLIUM.—an aromatic gum. Arrian tells how the army of Alexander returning through the country of the Oritae

came upon many myrrh trees larger than usual from which the Phaenician traders accompanying the army gathered the gum and carried it away.

RIVER SINTHUS.—The Sanscrit is Sindhu, and this form Sinthus is unusual in Greek the river being generally known as Indus. Hindu names reaching the west generally dropped the S and substitute H in Persian mouths. Sayce in his Herbert Lectures argues on that basis for an ancient sea-trade between India and the Euphrates, from the word Sindhu, or muslin, mentioned in an ancient Babylonian list of clothing. This is the cadin of the Old Testament and Sindon of the Greeks.

THE GREATEST RIVER.—The Indus is exceeded by the Yangtse, Mekong, Irawadi, Brahmaputra, Ganges, Shatt-el-Arab.

GRAAE—is the Sanskrit Graha. The presence of great water-snakes is still observed along these coasts, in the bays and at the mouths of rivers.

BARABRICUM.—The name is evidently Hellenized from some Hindu—word one suspects Bandar, port, or possibly some name such as Bahardipur, which survives in the modern delta. With the steady silting of the Delta the remains of this port are probably yards deep in the soft alluvium, and very likely quite away from any of the present branches of the river. Shah-Bandar, Royal port, formerly accessible to men-of-war now lies far inland to the east of the present main channel of the Indus, while a similar fate has overtaken Ghora Bari or Vikkar, Keti and other places.

MINNANGARA—was a name given temporarily to several cities of India during the period of the occupation by the Scyths (the Saka and Yueh-chi). After the collapse of the Indo-Scythian power these cities resumed their former names with other autonomy. This Minnangara may be identified with the Patala of Alexander's expedition—the capital of the Delta country.

Vincent Smith locates it at Brahmanabad, about 6 miles west of the modern Mansuriyah. He proves that the coast line has advanced anywhere from 20 to 40 miles since Alexander's time. The Rann of Cutch, Eirinon now a salt marsh was a broad open arm of the sea running to 25° N. with the eastern branch of the Indus emptying into it. Silt brought down by

the river and formed into great bars washed southward by the violent tides has now closed the mouth of the Rann almost entirely. The coastline may have averaged 25° N. from Karachi to the Rann of Cutch. The Rann was probably open sea until about the 4th century when a series of violent earthquakes elevated the whole region considerably. Ruins are reported at Nagar Parkar, at the NE corner, indicating a large seaport trade there. These changes may have been one cause of the great migration from the region to Java in the 6th and 7th century A. D.

PARTHIAN PRINCES.—The reference to the rule of Parthian Princes is very interesting. The first horde from Central Asia to overrun the Pamirs was the Saka, fleeing before the Yueh-chi. They settled in the Cabul valley, Seistan (Sakastene) and the lower Indus. By about 120 B. C. their leader Manes had established a kingdom at Cabul, subject to Parthia; his line was known as the Indo-Parthian, but his race was roughly speaking Scythian. Gradually the Uueh-chi pursued the Saka first conquering Greek Bactria (they are referred to in the Periplus as the very warlike nation of the Bactrians living in the interior). Their King Kadphises I conquered Cashmere and the upper Indus ; his son Kadphises II who acceded about 85 A. D. after a disastrous defeat at Kuche by the pursuer of the Yueh-chi, the Chinese conquering general Pan Chao-about 90 A. D. directed his armies southward and rapidly overrun the Punjab and the lower Indus and then reached the upper Ganges and interior points like Indore.

Both races were called by the Sanscrit Min or Scyths ; the Periplus shows Indo-Parthians ruling in the metropolis of Scythia, then at the apex of the Indus delta, showing their power in the Cabul valley to have been broken already by the Uuch-chi or Kushan dynasty, but their subsequent complete conquest by the Yueh-chi had not yet been consummated.

The political conditions described in the Periplus were probably those that followed the death of Gondophares, the last powerful Indo-Parthian ruler in the Punjab. This is supposed to have occurred about 51 A. D. After some years of anarchy and civil war the Saka power was again consolidated under two lines of rulers ; The Northern Satraps from the Indus to the Jamna and the Western Satraps in Kathiawar, Gujrat and Malwa. Both these dynasties were at first tributary and later subject to the Kushan power.

More distant southern raiding by the Indo-Parthians led to the Pallava dynasties along the west coast, which after a couple of centuries succeeded in gaining control of much of Southern India. These princes were thought to be ruling in Cullian, near Bombay.

Figured linen. . Babylon was very famous for making embroidery in different colours and hence stuffs of this kind have obtained the name of Babylonia.

TOPAZ.—This stone was certainly our (chrysolithos) topaz, which was produced in large quantity in the Red Sea islands being an important item in the east-bound exports of Egypt under the Ptolemies and Rome.

CORAL.—The red coral of West Mediterranean, which was one of the principal assets of the Roman Empire in its trade with the east. The red coral fisheries are in Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, near Naples, Leghorn and Genoa in Catalonia, the Balearic islands and the coasts of Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco.

COSTUS.—In the Roman Empire it was used as a culinary spice, also as a perfume. In modern Kashmir the collection of Costus is a State monopoly ; it is used by shawl merchants to protect their fabrics from moth.

LYCIUM.—From the roots and stems a yellow dye was prepared while from the stem, fruit and root-bark was made an astringent medicine.

NARD.—from the root of this grass was derived an oil which was used in Roman commerce medicinally and as a perfume and as an astringent in ointments.

TORQUOISE.—is only found in Persia, in two mines, one near Nishapur and the other five days journey from it.

LAPIS LAZULI.—The real lapis lazuli came from Bokhara, particularly at Kalab and Badakshan that it was sent thence to India and from India to Europe.

SERIC SKINS.—Pliny writes "the most valuable products furnished by the coverings of animals are the skins which the Seres dye." Furs must have been sent overland across Asia in the 1st century.

Pliny also mentions "most excellent iron of the Seres". It may be the Indian steel more correctly described by Periplus as coming from the Gulf of Cambay to the Somali Coast—Egypt. It was produced in Deccan Hyderabad and was shipped to the Punjab and Persia to be made into steel ; the famous Damascus blades of the middle ages being derived mainly from this source.

CLOTH.—It must be the muslin—the sindon of the Greeks, long a staple product of the Punbaj and Sind.

SILK YARN.—According to Periplus, the Roman traders found silk at the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, at the Gulf of Cambay, and in Travancore, whither it had been brought by various routes from North West China.

The principal highway for silk, at that time as well as later, was through Turkestan and Parthia. As the demand in the Mediterranean countries grew more insistent, the restriction of the Parthian Government, became more severe, and quarrels over the silk trade were at the root of more than one war between Rome and Parthia, or later between the Byzantine Empire and Sassanian Persia. In the 6th century a couple of Christian monks under Justinian succeeded in bringing back from China the jealously guarded silk-worm's eggs, from which the silk culture was introduced into Greece and imports from the East diminished.

At the time of the Periplus, Rome and Parthia being at war, the sea route was the only one open to the Roman silk traders.

INDIGO.—It was valued in Western Asia, Egypt, and the Maditerranean countries as a dye and a medicine.

THE GULF OF EIRINON—is the present Runn of Cutch. It is a saline plane which was certainly at one time flooded by the sea as shown by the abundance of salt and by the remains of vessels ; old harbour works are observed near Nagar Parkar, on the eastern side of the Runn. The whole area was probably raised by some great earthquake. At the time of the Periplus it seems to have been open water, although shoal with a clear opening into the ocean below the Indus Delta and with a branch of the Indus running into it. Now the Indus delta is very much pushed further south, and the scour of the tides has carried its alluvium along the coast, almost blocking up the Runn ; while the branch that watered it no longer flows in that direction.

One is led to surmise that the great migration from Cutch and Gujerat to Java, in the 6th and 7th centuries, may have been due even more to this cause than to the invasion of hostile Aryan tribes from the upper Indus. This migration led to the establishment of Buddhist kingdoms in Java, and building of one of the finest buildings in the world, the Boroboedor and Brambanan. The conversion of a navigable bay into a salt desert and the diversion of the rivers that watered it, must have spelled ruin and starvation to multitudes of its agricultural and seafaring inhabitants, who would have been forced to migrate on a scale unusual in history.

GULF OF BARACA is the modern Gulf of Cutch.

Since reading the above paper before the Sind Historical Society on the 23rd September 1934, I have come across a valuable publication viz. "History of Ancient Geography" by E. H. Bunbury, F. R. G. S. from which I have gathered the following information.

The Malli occupied the country between the Ravee and the Chenab ; their territory included the site of the modern city of Multan.

The next people with whom Alexander came in contact were the Oxydracae, a warlike and numerous nation, who joined with the Malli and submitted themselves to Alexander ; a trace of their name may be found in that of Ooch, a city just below the junction of the Sutlej and the Chenab. It is probable that the Oxydracae occupied the district of Ooch together with the adjoining province of Bhavalpore.

Captain McMurdo was the first writer to draw attention to the great changes that have taken place in the course of the Indus. (*vide* Journal R. A. S. Vol. 1, 1834). The old channel of the River Indus, which is still distinctly to be traced, is known as the Purana Daria or "old river," leaves the present stream at some distance above Bukkur, passes under the ruins of Alore, and then holds a direct course towards the south, nearly as far as old Brahmanabad ; above which it divides into two channels, the one having a direction to the SSW, till it rejoins the present course of the river just above Hyderabad ; the other channel has a South East course towards the Runn of Cutch.

One of the richest kingdom at that time was the kingdom of Musicanus ; it was on the banks of the Purana Daria or old channel of the Indus. Its chief city occupied the site of Alore.

The kingdom of Oxycanus may be placed to the west of the Indus on the banks of the river Gharra, and its capital city at Mahorta, near Larkana, above 45 miles from Alore.

The kingdom of Sambus may be safely placed in the district west of the Indus, at the foot of the mountain range that borders the broad valley on the west. Its capital city Sindomna may be identified with Sehwan.

The name of the Oxidracae (Oxydrakai) which is found in this form in Arrian and Q. Curtius is written by Strabo, Sydkkai, and by Pliny, Sydraci. it is clearly identical with the Sanscrit Sudraka or Suraka, who are found in the Mahabharata associated with the Malava (Malli), just as the Oxydracae and Malli are by the Greek writers.

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HISTORICAL AND RACIAL BACKGROUND OF THE AMILS OF HYDERABAD, SIND.

(By Miss S. J. Narsian, M.A.)

(*Read 28th October*, 1934).

In the study of a race or a tribe or a group of people, it is now universally acknowledged that environment and heredity play an important part. Environment exercises a steady and constant influence upon man and by the application of his intelligence man uses his environment more and more to his advantage. This application of his intelligence by man makes a part of the heredity of man. Thus heredity and environment go hand in hand on the path of progress. They enter into various aspects of life. Hereditary influences operate greatly in making up the history of a group of people. The past and the present history of the Amils reveal the powerful influences of heredity as expressed under particular geographic, social and political environments. It manifests certain outstanding characteristics that give the Amils a distinct individuality of their own.

The Amils of Sindh style themselves after the occupation they held during the regime of the Mussalmans. The word "Amil" is of Persian origin. "Amil" in Persian means "to administer." The Amils served in the capacity of administrators and revenue officers. Probably this term was always applied by the Mussalman rulers to persons holding such posts. Early in the fifteenth century when Ahmedshah I conquered India, he wished to improve his dominions. At that time "he appointed the Amils that is sub-divisional revenue officers" (1) for the purpose. As in Sindh, so in the Punjab, the Administrative and revenue officers were called after that name. The cultural affinity between these two provinces is too well-known to require any discussion. In both provinces this class of people have retained this name to themselves.

The Amils of Hyderabad are composed of different classes of people. Majority of the Amils are Lohanas by caste. A few belong to the Khatri caste; and an insignificant, number to other different castes. But just as their places of origin are unknown, their caste is also not definitized.

1. Campbell, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol: I. p. 238.

Let us first consider the Khatris. The history of the Khatris is obscure. Lack of historical records does not enable us to examine their hereditary qualities in detail. But their high capabilities have been standing out markedly from time to time in the annals of history. This may be indicative of the working of powerful hereditary influences (2.)

Among the Khatris, the different sections assign different origin to themselves. Taking all these accounts of heritage into consideration, the Khatri caste appears to be belonging to the Solar, the Lunar or the Agni cula race (3). The Khatris of Sindh, however, claim Sri Ramchandra, the hero of Ramayana, as their common ancestor (4). They declare that Ayodhya was their original home. From there they migrated to Delhi, and thence to the Punjab where their numerical strength is great even to the present day. The Khatris have come to Sindh from Multan to escape the taxes imposed upon them by the Mussalman rulers (5).

Evidently, the Khatris belong to the Kshatriya class. Their superiority "in physique, in manliness and in energy" prove that they are the "direct representatives of the Kshatriyas of Manu." (6)

There are several legends connected with the origin of the Lohanas. Originally they are said to have been Rathor Rajputs. It is narrated that once the Rathors fell out with Raja Jaichand, the powerful King of Kanauj. The indignant Raja declared war against them. Conscious of their inadequate strength, the Rathors prayed to Lord Varuna to come to their rescue. After some days of constant and fervent prayer, Lord Varuna was pleased. He ordered them to stay in an invincible fort built by his supernatural power. For sixteen days, the people fought, and came out victorious in the war. But the fort vanished on the twentyfirst day as willed by Lord Varuna. And the Lord bade them build an iron fort on the site and call themselves Lohanas (Loh means iron) thenceforward. The Rathor warriors followed this decree to the letter. They built

2. The powerful racial heritage of the Khatris is evident when we find that Guru Nanak, Guru Govindsing, the Great Sikh leaders were Khatris by caste. So were Todar Mull and many of Ranjit Singh's chief functionaries. See p. 109. Campbell: Ethnology of India. J. R. A. S. of Bengal, Vol: XXXV, Part II, 1866.
3. Rose: A glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes. p. 501-2.
4. The Ethnographical Survey of Bombay. Monograph No: 3. p. 3.
5. The Ethnographical Survey of Bombay. Monograph No: 3. p. 3.
6. Rose: A glossary of the Punjab Tribes and Castes p. 506.

a fort Lohghar (from which it became Lahore) and called themselves Lohanas. (7) Raja Jaichand flourished in the twelfth century. While we come across a number of references to a tribe called Lohana during as well as earlier to his reign.

Certain writers presume that the Lohanas derive their name from some country. Many writers allege that Lohakot or Lohanpur in the Punjab is the place from where they derive their name (8.9.) Campbell assumes that the Lohanas take their name from the District of Lamgham in Eastern Afghanistan (10) and "probably belong to the Lohanis who formerly held the country between the Suleman Hills and the Indus (11)." The Lohanis are the people of Afghanistan. They are "mercantile travellors" who drive caravans to and from between Khorasan and Hindustan (12). In the nineteenth century the Lohanis were famous for their packmanship (13). It is a fact that before the invasion of the Arabs to spread their new religion during the seventh and eighth centuries, Afghanistan and Baluchistan were the dominions of Hindu kings. Professor Wilson has proved the existence of Hindu kingdom in Afghanistan by analysing the coins and antiquities discovered there.(14). The prevalence of Buddhism in Afghanistan is also substantially proved by the discovery of numerous stupas and Buddhistic statues in the land. Cunningham declares that the Kabul valley enjoyed Hindu suzereignty till the tenth century. He states, "During the whole of the tenth century the Kabul Valley was held by a dynasty of Brahmins whose power was not finally extinguished until towards the close of the reign of Muhommad Ghaznav (15). "In those days therefore, it would appear that a great part of the population of eastern Afghanistan, including the whole of the Kabul Valley, must have been of Indian descent, while the religion was pure Budhism." (16). But the ferocity of Ghaznavi soon drove out the idolators from the land "and with them the Indian element." (17). The close connection maintained by Afghanistan and India in Ancient times may go to advance the statement of Campbell regarding the relationship between

7. Ethnoven : Tribes and castes of Bombay Vol : II. p. 381.
8. Ethnoven : Tribes and castes of Bombay Vol : II. p. 382.
9. Elliot : History of India, Vol : I. p. 362.
10. Campbell : Bombay City Gazeteer p. 226.
11. Campbell : Bombay Gazeteer, Vol : IX Part I. p. 122.
12. Bellow : Afghanistan and Afghan, p. 219-20.
13. Masson : Narrative of the various Journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Punjab.
14. Wilson : Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan p. 43.
15. Majmudar : Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India p. 19.
16. Majumdar : Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India p. 19.
17. Majumajudar : Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India p. 19.

the Lohanas and the Lohanis. The Lohanis might have embraced Islam in the days of its pristine glory, thus severing all connections with their Hindu brethren. But owing to the lack of any historical proof nothing very definite can be stated on this point.

There are various other tribes with whom the Lohanas are identified by different writers. The Lamanis, Lohas, Lois are haphazardly mentioned and connected with the Lohanas (18). The possibility of any relation with all these tribes appears to have arisen in the mind of the writers because of the similarity of their names and occupation.

The Lohanas claim for themselves descent from Lava (19), (20), (21), the eldest son of Rama, just as Rathors do from Kusha, the younger son of Rama. The tendency to link up the origin with some eminent personage or to infinity is a characteristic of human mind. Men delight to think of a grand ancestry or a distinguished pedigree to which they imagine to belong. The Census Reports and the Gazeteers doubt the claim of the Lohanas to Kshatriya class, on the proposition that the Lohanas everywhere shine in the capacity of traders and businessmen, so they place them under the category of the Vaishyas. But a glimpse at the past history of the Lohana shows that they belong to the warrior class, and as such they are entitled to declare themselves as Kshatriyas.

The solar race is believed to terminate with Raja Sumitra, the thirteenth in descent from Brihadhal. But many Rajput races attempt to form allegiance with it. Lava, the ancestor of the Lohanas, is supposed to have founded Lavakot or Labokot, the present Lahore (22). His descendants are believed to have extended over the whole of the Punjab. Tod observes that its Bhalla Branch is still addressed at the time of blessings by the Bards as Tatta-Multan Ka Rao *i. e.*, the Lords of Tatta and Multan (23). Tatta is a town in Sindh. It was a flourishing and prosperous city in mediaeval times. While Multan formed a part of the province of Sindh till after the expiration of Hindu Raj (24). This indicates that the abode of the Bhalla branch

18. Enthoven : Tribes and Castes of Bombay, Vol : II, p. 382.
19. Campbell : Bombay Gazeteer Vol : IX, Part I. p. 121.
20. Tanna : Lohana Gnatino Itihas (in Gujrati) Chapter V.
21. Dosani : Lohana Ratnamala (in Gujrati) p. 4.
22. Majumdar : Cunnigham's Ancient Geography of India. p. 226-27.
23. Tod : The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Calcutta p. 116.
24. During Hindu regime the boundary of Sindh extended on the east till the limits of Kashmir and Kanuj, on the west to Makran and the sea, on the south to the sea-port of Surat, and on the North to Kandahar, Seistan, the Suleman mountains and the Kikanan hills. Postans : of the Early History of Sindh. Vol : X, J. R. A. S. of Bengal,

was at first on the Indus. But, there is some confusion in this matter. For, "the Bhallas on the continent of Saurashtra, on the contrary assert their origin to be Indusvamsik and state that they are Balicaputras who were the ancient lords of Arore on the Indus (25). "In the face of these conflicting views Tod concludes that "it would be presumption to decide between their claims" (26). But Tod "would venture to surmise that they might be the offspring of Sehl, one of the princes of the Bharat who founded Arore." (27) Sehl is again identified with Sehr or Sehires (28), the early Hindu rulers of Sindh, supposed to belong to the Sodha tribe of the powerful Parmara race, belonging to Agnicula.

There is however an important point that requires careful consideration. Cunningham cites from "Reinaud's "Fragments Arabes" that Sindh was divided into four principalities under Ayand, the son of Kafand (29), a non-Hindu king of Sindh" who reigned some time after Alexander the Great. These four principalities were named Zor, Askalandusa, Samid and Lohana, all of which correspond with the division noted by Hwen Thsang (30). "Hwen Thsang visited Sindh in 641 A. D. At that time Sindh was divided into four divisions which are described by Cunningham by their geographical positions as Upper Sindh, Middle Sindh, Lower Sindh and Kachh. It appears then that Lohana was once a territorial place in Sindh.

The Lohanas, as they appear before us in the seventh century are the inhabitants of Brahmanabad situated in the Middle Sindh. Formerly Brahmanabad was the city of the Brahmins who revolted against Alexander the Great when he conquered Sindh. Consequently they were put to the sword by him (31). Brahmanabad was then known by the name of Hermatelia to the Greeks. History does not disclose the fact when the Lohana tribe came to occupy Brahmanabad.

The Lohanas step upon the stage of History as an influential and powerful class of people in Sindh, ruled by a chief of their own class, Agham Lohana. Naturally the delight of splendour and grandeur, and the love of self-assertion were ingrained in

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25. Tod : Rajasthan P. 117.
28. Tod : Rajasthan p. 46.
25. Ditto.
27. Ditto.
29. Elliot in his "History of India" Vol : I, speaks of a king Kafand, a non-Hindu King, contemporary with Alexander ruling wisely and efficiently in Sindh, p. 108.
30. Majumdar : Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 285.
31. Vincent D. D. The voyage of Nearchus, p. 136.

them. Agham Lohana was perhaps not the first ruler of his tribe ; his fore-fathers may have had ruled before him, as is evident from a letter of Rai Chach, the Brahmin usurper to the throne of Sindh to him. It says "you consider yourselves kings of the time from your power and grandeur, origin and lineage. Though I have not inherited this Kingdom and sovereignty, this wealth and affluence, this power and dignity from my father and grand-father and though this country has not been ours before, still my elevation and improved fortunes are due to the Grace of God (32)." It was customary with the Governors of the principalities to submit to the supremacy of the King of Alor. Agham Lohana was unwilling to acknowledge the Brahmin usurper as a sovereign. A fierce battle ensued between them. "There are said to have been some forty thousand fighting men in Brahmanabad who daily issued forth and gave battle (33) to Rai Chach. "Finally, the army of Agham Lohana was put to flight and their chief was killed. His son submitted to the King. So Rai Chach placed him on the throne. But the tribe as a whole met with a severe treatment. Rai Chach passed strict laws against them. The martial tribe was deprived of the right of carrying sword ; riding on horse with saddles was forbidden ; the gorgeous dresses of their palmy days were denied them ; they were forced to put on coarse garments and to go barefooted and bare-headed. Besides they were to supply firewood to the ruler of Brahmanabad, they had social, economic and political status lowered. A high, ruling aristocratic people were levelled down with the lowliest, though some Lohanas were appointed to respectable posts to effect solid security.

It may be noted here that though Rai Chuch was a Brahmin, Buddhism was the dominant religion in Sindh, as it was then in the rest of India. Numerous Buddhists inhabited in the country. Mr. Smith speaks of great many Buddhist monks living in Sindh, but they did not lead a pure and a strictly religious life (35). Brahmanism was also practised in Sindh. There existed no restriction as to the choice of religion. Both were followed with social impunity by the people. Chandar, the brother of Rai Chach, was a Buddhist by religion. He ardently patronized his faith when he ascended the throne. Aghan Lohana professed the dominant faith of the land. May be that the Lohanas belonged to the same faith with their leader.

32. Mirza Kalichbeg : Chachnamah, Part I. p. 32.
33. Cousins : The Antiquities of Sind p.
34. Mirza Kalichbeg : Chachnamah, Part I. p. 37.
35. Smith, V. A. Early History of India, p. 300.

The unfortunate defeat was almost like a catastrophe to the high career of the Lohanas. The unfavourable circumstances checked the spontaneous flow of the high capabilities of the Lohanas in Sindh. Their physical and mental energy was suppressed. Some of the Lohanas learnt to adjust themselves to the circumstances. Their mental habits changed with the changed condition of their life. They lived like common folk. Economic degradation compelled them to take to simple means of subsistence. They became agriculturists, menial servants, vegetable-sellers etc. Even at the present day certain sections of Lohanas are found engaged in such occupations. (36).

Sindh was in a state of political unrest shortly after the downfall of the Lohanas. In 711 A. D. Muhammad Bin Kasim conquered Sindh. Thereafter Sindh was always subject to political fights and disturbances in which the Lohanas took but little part. A state of disquietude of a different type fell upon the Lohanas in the tenth century. A tremendous geographic upheaval destroyed their place of habitation. The complete destruction of Brahamanbad by an earthquake must have caused a great loss of life and property. It is probable that this compelled its inhabitants to scatter themselves and move to different countries, for the Lohanas had little opportunity to revive their social, political and economic life in the land. They occupied the most degraded position being considered as "a villanous set of people" quite like the wild men living in some villages of Fars and Payeh (37). The Lohanas pass out of the pages of history of Sindh at that time, though their prowess and brilliance shine forth in other parts of India.

In the twelfth century, when Prithvi Rja was the King of Delhi, the Lohanas appear as a flourishing military race. The Delhi Court poet, Chand Badrai, has composed an Epic describing vividly in the old Hindi language the various incidents that mark the grand career of Prithviraj. In this he often mentions the Lohanas taking part in many a battle, "One of the members of the race is said to have accompanied Prithviraj on his expedition to Kanauj and is enumerated among the wounded (38)."

The latter history of the Lohanas reveal them as an oppresed class. They were often subjected to the tyranny of the rulers.

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36. Campbell : Bombay Gazeteer, Vol : IX, Part I. p. 122.
37. As Muhammad Kasim, the first conquerer of Sindh called them. Mirza Kalichbeg : Chachnamah Part I.
38. The Revatata Episode. Canto XXVII By.

In the thirteenth century, it is recorded that a number of Lohanas immigrated to Sindh. They are said to have been driven out from Multan by the Mussalman rulers (39), into Sindh from where they made their way to Cutch.

The Lohanas never left Sindh totally. We catch a glimpse of them in the fifteenth Century. A certain celebrated Saint Yussaf-Uddin, a pious man, descendant of Abdul Qadir Jilani, is said to have carried intense religious propaganda in Sindh, and succeeded in converting many Lohanas to his religion. The Saint was an inhabitant of Baghdad. One night he dreamt that his presence was required in India. So he started for his journey, and came to Sindh in 1422 A. D. Here he preached his religion so fervently and enthusiastically that it appealed to many a heart. It is said that he converted seven hundred Lohana families after ten years of sincere and assiduous effort. These seven hundred families are believed to have followed the suit of two important persons of their caste (40). It is difficult to state the psychological principle behind such a change of mentality. May be that pure religous sentiment unalloyed by any condition induced them to embrace this religion. Or may be that it was the desire for economic prosperity which allurement is winning over so many people to Christianity and Islam at the present day in India. Or may be that their social position came to play some part in it. The social status of the Lohanas at this period, as is already observed, was degrading, and their economic condition was poor. As a class they were despised by their rulers. Probably they considered it preferable to join the ranks of their rulers, thereby rising in social status. Afterwards these Lohanas migrated to Cutch where their number was increased by converts from the Cutch Lohanas (41).

The history of Sindh shows constant inflow and outflow of people. The struggle for existence has always been the primary cause for emigration. Pitt-Rivers declares that all causes of struggle, strife and supremacy have but one fundamental problem at the bottom, that of struggle for existence (42). The tyranny of the Government also has often led to emigration. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, small streams of people emigrated into Sindh from the Punjab, Rajputana, Cutch and other places. These people were Lohanas, Khatris,

39. Burgess states that the Lohanas emigrated from Kanauj Burgess. Report of the Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kachh p. 193. Enthoven and others maintain that the Lohanas came from Multan. Tribes and Castes of Bombay p. 382.
40. Arnold : The Preaching of Islam, p. 274.
41. Arnold : The Preaching of Islam, p. 274.
42. Pitt-Rivers : The Clash of Culture and the Contact of Races, p. 1

Bhatias and others, the first being by far in large majority. The struggle for existence found a solvent in this that Sindh provided them with different occupations. Those who emigrated avoiding the tyranny of the Government escaped the iron rule of Aurangzeb and his immediate successors, almost in the manner of Catholics who escaped the tyranny of the Protestant Government in England in the sixteenth century. At this period Aurangzeb took certain drastic measures against the Hindus and their religion. "In April 1669, he ordered the provincial governors to destroy the temples and schools of the Brahmins.....and to utterly put down the teachings and religious practices of the infidels"..... On the second April 1679, the Jazia or Poll tax on non-Moslems was revived"..... and again "with one stroke of his pen he dismissed all the Hindu clerks from office (43)". These measures created discontentment and provocation among the Hindus. So, many Hindus migrated to different places to live a peaceful and secure existence.

The new settlers into the land of Sindh must have brought their families with them. If they really fled from the tyranny of a bigotted King, it is highly improbable that they should leave their families behind. Others who came to earn a livelihood may also have been accompanied by their wives and children, looking to the unsafe conditions of the times. It may also have happened that they left their families at their native places like many merchants, to return home once in a period of a year or two. But those who contemplated to establish a permanent abode must have taken away their families to their places of settlement, or formed new relations with the natives of the place. A number of Brahmins sufficient to carry on religious ceremonies must have also escorted them. Mr. Advani assigns the date of the first immigrants, some of whom are the ancestors of the present Amils, to be about 1670 A. D. (44).

It would be of some advantage to consider the routes pursued by the immigrants to come to Sindh. In absence of railroads, the main lines of communication, linking cities with cities, and forming the highways of commerce must have been the routes for the coming and going of people. Taking Hyderabad as the centre, we shall pursue the different routes that connect Sindh with the countries through which the immigrants came to Sindh. There exists a road from Hyderabad to Multan which

43. Sarcar : Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays p. 11-12.
44. Advani. Amilan-ji-Ahwal. (in Sindhi) p. 13.

is established for the facilitation of carrying merchandise and general traffic. It is a road of high antiquity when the western Punjab constituted a part of the province of Sindh. The road passes through Bahawalpur State, Sukkur, Khairpur and Nawabshah districts,following the bank of the Indus, but not very close to it. The road is so clear and prominent that there is a proverb in Sindhi stating that "the blind men can find Multan." This road must have permitted frequent migration. A number of our immigrants came by this road.

While this road connects Sindh with the Punjab, there is another road that enables Sindh to maintain communication with Rajputana. This road goes through Tando Allahyar, Mirpurkhas, Shadipali, Umarkot, and then passes the great Indian desert to reach Jodhpur. This is a difficult road to travel. The desert forms the worst part of the journey. During the day the heat of the sun is intense, and the desert burns like a furnace. At the present day the Jodhpur Railway Company discretly avoids the heat of the desert ; trains cross it at night time when the desert is cool. This path must have been rather uninviting when the journey was done at slow speed in bullock-cart or on camel-back. Some of the immigrants came to Sindh by traversing this path.

The route taken from Cutch to come to Sindh is a river and land-route. By crossing the kori creek by a boat, the emigrants come to a salt-waste. Passing through it, they enter Sujawal and Saidpur. They cross the Indus and go to Tatta Taluka. Then they catch a road that takes a northerly direction, and reach Hyderabad after crossing the river at Kotri to Gidu Bunder.

Migration leads to excessive selective process (45). Men who are lazy and unadventurous stay behind. Others who are less adeptable to new environment, and the hardships of the journey are eliminated . So the weak and the unfit go to the wall. Only the bold and the strong, endowed with energetic spirit and mind survive. *Desire for migration, for undertaking the troubles and risks of a journey during days when no provision for easy conveyance existed, manifests a mentality above the average type. To migrate means to go to a new-unknown and unfamiliar place.*

45. Huntington : The Character of Races.

The immigrants possessed the pushing quality to seize any opportunity that came to them, and to make the best use of it. They moved in different directions in search of employment. Some of them entered the capital and found employments in the Courts of the Mussalman rulers. Others sought the best business quarters. It is probable that two members of the same family took to two different occupations. One joined in business enterprise which was more or less confined to trade only, and the other served in the Court. The decendants of the Court officials designate themselves Amils, and those of trading class, Bhaibunds (Banias). Therefore originally there existed no class distinction between the Amils and the Bhaibunds. The distinction was attached to the difference in occupation only.

The Amils who are the object of our study, on their coming to Sindh, served at the then capital of Sindh, Khudabad. It appears that some Lohanas and a few Khatris were employed in the service of the rulers of Khudabad. They displayed considerable proficiency in the management of state affairs. State craft was soon acquired by them.

In the eighteenth century the capital of Sindh was transferred from Khudabad to Hyderabad. So the Officials and traders began to shift to the new capital. But some of the officials and traders were unwilling to move out of Khudabad.They stayed behind. As a result the Amils, like the Bhaibunds, came to be divided into two classes. One class remained at Khudabad, the other came to Hyderabad. Gradually time and geographical division brought about definite distinction between the two. The gulf of separation of the two classes became wider till at last they became two separate social groups maintaining no connection with each other. The Khudabadi Amils became a consolidated party, but the Hyderabadi Amils suffered the new officials at the rulers' court to join their community. So while the Khudabadi Amils increased by the slow process of multiplication only, the Hyderabadi Amils increased not only by multiplication but by addition also. The present Amil community is not of the pure Khudabadi genus, but is made up of several classes of people. (46)

The Amils were increasingly employed in greater numbers to posts of every description in the revenue and administrative departments. They carried on State-correspondence, and travelled as State envoys and as ambassadors. Frequently they

46. Advani. Amilan-jo-Ahwal (in Sindhi) p. 46-47.

were sent to pay tribute to the King of Khorasan whose suzereignty was acknowledged by the rulers of Sindh. Besides serving as the Secretaries of Foreign Department the Amils served in the Home Department as well. At times the Amils were found even in the Military Department, though the rulers had scarcely any standing army worthy of mention. In this manner, by their ability and intelligence, the Amils became indispensable to the Mussalman Kings of Sindh. The following statement of Burton stated with regard to the Amils bears great truth in it. "Even the Ameers with all their hatred and contempt for Kafirs could not collect or dispose of their revenues without the aid of Hindu Amils." (47)

The Bhaibunds, in their return, carried on trade and commerce of the country. As a matter of fact, almost all Hindus who were not of the official class, and were not Brahmins, took to trade. It was extensively carried on by them. All necessary as well as luxurious articles were provided to the people by them. Therefore the Hindus, as a class, constituted a very important section of people in Sindh during the Muhammadan rule.

Though the reins of Government passed from one dynasty to another, the Amils and the Bhaibunds continued their services and business in Sindh. The Talpurs succeeded the Kalhoras. The Amils who were serving under the Kalhoros now took their posts in the Court of the Talpurs. The reports and accounts of the travellers in Sindh at that time throw a flood of light upon the life and character of the people both Hindus and Muhammadans. The Hindus had Panchayats for the internal administration of their community. The Panchayat effected social solidarity, exercised judicial authority and settled all disputes and disagreements between the individuals of the community. It was a stronghold for the Hindus.

The character of the people, so far as the reports go, was, to say the least, not praiseworthy. The Sindians were regarded as treacherous and liars ; the Baluchis were indolent and debauched, but they were sometimes praised for bravery ; The Hindus were considered avaricious and over-reaching. The Shikarpuris were characterised by great laxity in respect of their peculiar tenets, flagrant licentiousness and general disregard of principles of morality and decency, (48) though they were considered honest in their mercantile transactions (49). The

47. Bombay Selections No : XVII Part II. p. 662-63.
48. Thornton : Gazeteer of the Province Adjacent to India, Vol : II. p. 193-194.
49. Postans : Personal Observations on Sindh, p. 67.

Amils played tricks and deception in Court. They learnt to read and write letters in any manner they pleased. They copied documents, forged seals and took good amount of bribe. They robbed the Government for the slightest gain. "The Amils" as said by Burton, "looked rigidly to their own advantage ; and in pursuit of it they were held by no oath, feared no risk, and showed no pity (50)."

With the annexation of Sindh to the British territory, the Amils took up service in the Government department, already in the Court service, they constituted an important section of people who were indispensable for the administration of the country. The Amils had a fair knowledge of the province and its people. They could therefore render effective assistance to the new rulers. The capacity of the Amils to work efficiently won the admiration of the English. They were described as "able and energetic, honest and upright, and they displayed an earnest application and devotion to duty (51)."

Ethnological consideration of the Amil community leads us to a great disadvantage. Sindh sadly neglected by the ethnologists who attempt to investigate the racial types in India. Now Sindh gives a new turn to the established theories of racial types in India. The excavations at Mohanjo Daro shows that the inhabitants of the land at that time were, as judged by their physical features, of Sumerian type. They are Pre-Aryan and non-Dravidian. Considering the later history, it is found that Sindh has suffered from a great admixture of blood. In early times, the mingling of races was the order of the day in Northern India, though India maintained caste rules. North Indians people came in contact with various foreign races and tribes who constantly penetrated through the mountain barriers of India and occupied the land. Bactrians, Scythians, Parthians, Huns and others pushed towards India and adopted Hindu religion and name. The regular affluence of foreign races caused immense admixture of blood. In the Baudhayana Dharamasutra it was expressed that "the inhabitants of Anarta, of Anga, of Magadha, of Saurashtra, of Upavritta of Sindh and Sauvira are of mixed origin (52). The races of the North were therefore regarded as impure and it was established that a person going for travel and some times even for pilgrimage in the north had

50. Burton : The races that Inhabit the Valley of Indus p. 340.
51. Balfour : Cyclopaedia of India Vol : II. p. 230.
52. Ram Prasad Chanda : Archeological Survey No : 31 p. 7.

to change his sacred thread after performing prayasehitta (53). This kind of order was passed against these countries because the rest of India observed comparative racial purity by observing rigid caste system. Such relative ethnic purity can be preserved in countries which are geographically isolated or economically uninviting. But India, land of gold, developed this unique method for preserving pure blood as much as possible.

Risley in his "The People of India" divides India into its several provinces and attributes particular racial composition to each. He speaks of seven racial types prevailing in India and assigns Scytho-Dravidian element, as preponderating among the people of the Bombay Presidency (54). Aitken states that "to this day a large proportion of population is certainly Scythian, not Aryan" in Sindh (55). It is true that Scythians had come and settled in Sindh in large numbers, and that, at that time, Sindh was known as an Indo-Scythian land (56). But at present the term "Scythian" making up a distinct racial type, is being called into question.

Again, if rightly observed, Sindh will be found racially and culturally quite distinct from the rest of the Presidency. To a certain extent, this may be applicable to Gujrat as well, and especially to Kathiawar, which has always maintained a close connection with Sindh. On the other hand, great cultural and racial unity exists between Sindh and the Punjab. Extensive amalgamation of blood has taken place between these provinces. And we know that the people of the Punjab, Kashmir and Rajputana are Indo-Aryans (57). To what extent the Indo-Aryan traits are to be found among the Hindus of Sindh is a question that we are not in a position to settle. The Khatris are, however, unanimously ascribed an Indo-Aryan origin. Havell furnishes with a brief account of the characteristics of an Indo-Aryan as afforded by Ethnographic investigations and states that these are markedly to be observed among the Khatris (58).

The Amils are a strong and healthy class. They are robust and well-built. The physique of the Amils has always been

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53. Sindhu Sanvira Sunrashtra tatha pratyanlarasinah Anga Vanga Kalingashcha gatva samskaramarhati (Sanskrit).
In some cases, the performance of Sanskara in case of pilgrimage is not asked for. Tirtha yatra Vina gachhet Samskaramarhati (Sanskrit).
54. Risley : The People of India, p. 37.
55. Aitken. The Gazeteer of the Province of Sindh p. 87.
56. Aitken. The Gazeteer of the Province of Sindh, p. 87.
57. Risley : The people of India p. 35-37.
58. Havell. The Aryan rule in India p. 32.

highly attractive. Foreigners describe them as "light complexioned, regular featured and fine looking race." They may be considered to be of an Indo-Aryan descent.

Having considered the racial composition of the Amils, we shall in the end refer to a defective section of people existing in the community. Persons belonging to this class are known as Boodhas. They possess certain physical deformities. They are an edentate breed having eight teeth "round faces, flat noses, thick lips and soft silky hair which does not grow more than six inches. Their skins have no pores and so they do not perspire." In consequence they feel unbearable heat in the body during the hot season. These physical features are inherited not from father to child but from grand-father to grand child on the mother's side. All children do not suffer from the same defect. Some are born quite normal. This freak of nature appears to have existed in the community even during the Talpur regime. (59) There is a supposition that this "strange product of humanity" will soon get extinct (60).

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59. Manghirmalani. Hindus under the Talpurs of Sindh p. 267.
60. Manghirmalani. Hindus Modern Review March 1932.

THE BOODHAS—EDENTULOUS PEOPLE OF HYDERABAD SIND.

NOTE BY MR. N. M. BILLIMORIA.

The following extracts on the subject will be interesting.

In Hyderabad we meet with a strange product of humanity not to be found in any other part of the world, an edentate breed (Boodhas) Its members—Amils they are—have only eight teeth, they have round faces, flat noses, thick lips, and soft silky hair which does not grow more than six inches. Their skins have no pores and so they do not perspire. They inherit these characteristics not from father to son but from grandfather to grandchildren on the mother's side. But not all the children suffer from this deformity and it is the opinion of an English Civil Surgeon that in about 100 years' time the tribe will become extinct. *Modern Review. March* 1932.

The Indian Dental Review. June 1927.

The Boodhas of Hyderabad are supposed to be all descended from one ancestor and the youngest member of the class is the great-great-grandchild of the first son of his eldest daughter. How it distributes itself to the other children has not been clearly investigated, but I am told that Mendel's law holds good in this as in other cases of heredity of defects.

The peculiar defect of the Boodhas is that they do not grow their teeth, either decidous or permanent. In some cases they grow only a few of the grinders. The hair on their heads are usually light in colour and grow short and sparingly and they are very sensitive to heat. The defect was for some time supposed to be inherited by male children alone, but I know of two cases of female children in whose case the defect did appear, partially in one and fully in the other. While the teeth are absent the jaws of these children are fairly strong and they are generally able to masticate and digest their food all right. I understand that one of these Boodhas had a set of artificial teeth made for himself and these fit him very nicely. I believe in Sind will find this subject worth their careful investigation.

MIRZA KHUSRO BEG

By

A. B. Advani, M.A., LL.B.

(*Read on 25th November*, 1934).

The life story of Mirza Khusro Beg (1) is one of the romances of Sind History. It reads more like fiction than the cold facts of History. But verily truth is sometimes stranger than fiction. The word *Mirza* in Persian language means a secretary or a person whose occupation is to write and whose habits of life are civil. It also signifies, a prince of royal blood, because the word *Mirza* is a compound of *Mir* or *Amir* meaning *Lord* and *Za*, an abbreviation of *Zada* which means *Son*.

In the case of Mirza Khusro Beg, both the meanings could appropriately be applied to him, for he was a prince of royal blood (*vide*. the geneological table at the end) and in Sind he was a civilian of higher grade.

Before starting with the biography of this remarkable gentleman from Georgia, I shall mention one moot point, which I have not been able to decide. It is this. Was Mirza Khusro Beg an adopted son of Mir Karam Ali Khan or was he a Georgian slave, who was treated by the Mir as his son? Dr. Burnes has clearly mentioned that Mirza Khusro Beg was a *Georgian slave*, but has added that he was trated *as* an adopted child (2). It it also true that the other Mirs treated Mirza Khusro Beg as their equal, but never as one of them. For instance he didn't marry from the family of Mirs, and as far as it is known, he never sat on the raised *gadi* or throne as the other Mirs used to sit.

1. The biography of Mirza Khusro Beg is mainly based on a MS. in English entitled as *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg*. This MS. was written in 1920, by late Mirza Kalich Beg and professes to be a translation of a Persian MS. which was written by one Wadalshah son of Mian Yakubshah Alawi Kadri in 1897 A. D. The *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg* reads like a story, but I have referred to books like Malcolm's *History of Persia*, Burnes' *Narrative of a Visit to the Courte of Sinde*, Parliamentary Blue Books containing *Correspondence relative to Sinde*, and I find that the information given in the *Memoirs* is partly true. As a rule a Mahomeddan chronicler is very particular to give dates when writing history, but in this instance, this exactitude is wanting. Hardly any dates are given and the account of the Mirza's life at several places is contradictory to historical information which we know to be reliable. The author of the *Memoirs* in Persian has confessed that the incidents mentioned by him are based on hearsay. There being no documentary evidence we have to be satisfied with second hand information. There are several statements in this *Memoirs*, which for want of time, I have not been able to verify.

2. Burnes, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 110.

He was, as it appears, a high dignitary who was much respected and trusted. On the other hand in the *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg* it is clearly stated that Mir Karam Ali Khan at the time of the Mirza's coming from Persia to Sind, embraced the Mirza and publicly announced that he had adopted him as a son. (*Frere Namah* does not mention anything about this adoption.) Mir Karam Ali Khan in his will, also wrote that Mirza Khusro Beg was his son (3).

What was he really speaking ? A Georgian slave or an adopted son of Mir Karam Ali Khan ? I leave this matter to all those who are interested, to work it out for themselves.

In 1783, the Talpur Mirs of Sind defeated the Abbasi Kalhoras, and ascended the *gadi* of Sind. The province of Sind, by common consent, was divided into three parts, the important part of which, with Hyderabad as its capital was enjoyed by Mir Fateh Ali Khan and his three brothers—Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, Karam Ali Khan and Murad Ali Khan. These four brothers on account of the great attachment for one another came to be known as *Char Yar* or the Four Friends (4).

Mir Karam Ali Khan had two wives (5). His three brothers were also married and in due course of time became happy fathers, but this pleasure, of being a father, was denied to Mir Karam Ali Khan, in whose heart there remained a void, on account of his childless state.

The Talpur Mirs of Sind had very friendly connections with the Shah of Persia, to whom they frequently used to send presents through their envoys. There were trade connections also between Sind and Persia. Through one merchant, Mir Karam Ali Khan sent a message to Haji Ibrahim Khan, the Vizier of the Shah of Persia in the last decade of the 18th century, requesting him to be on the lookout for a boy of good family, whom he would like to adopt as a son. This message was duly delivered to the Vizier, who promised to do as the Mir desired. Some years passed away and Fateh Ali Khan, became the King of Persia. On his sitting to the throne, (6) Mir Karam Ali Khan sent to him some presents through a trusted courtier by name Akhund Ismail. Akhund Ismail was also intructed to remind Haji

3. Mir Karam Ali Khan's will is to be found in the MS. of *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg.*
4. Burnes, op. cit., p. 27.
5. This information was given to me by Mir Ali Bux Khan Talpur in June, 1932.
6. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, II. pp. 213-214. (1829 Ed.)

Ibrahim the Vizier, about his promise of sending some boy of noble birth, to Sind, for being adopted by Mir Karam Ali Khan as his son. While conversing with the Vizier, Akhund Ismail's eye fell on a handsome young boy studying hard under a Persian tutor. The Akhund became curious and inquired from Haji Ibrahim about the parentage of the boy. He was told a strange tale which was something to this effect (7). For hundreds of years, the rulers of Georgia, a small territory with Mount Caucasus to its north, and Armenia to its south-west, were at war with the rulers of Persia. Gurgin Khan III, was the ruler when Georgia's capital Tiflis was attacked by the Persians (8). Gurgin Khan had to fly for his life and he left his two young sons, Humayun Khan and Khusro Khan in a garden in the vicinity of Tiflis under the protection of a small band of faithful soldiers. Tiflis was ruthlessly ravaged and these two boys, nine and seven years old, were captured by the general of the Persian army. Much booty had been obtained in this attack on Tiflis and as is common, there arose a quarrel between the Persian soldiers over the distribution of the booty. The matters were reported to Haji Ibrahim Khan, the Persian Vizier, who ordered all the booty and the prisoners to be brought before him. Among these prisoners was a handsome boy, crying piteously. This boy told the Vizier that his name was Khusro Khan and that he was Gurgin Khan's son. He said that his elder brother Humayun Khan, who had been ailing for some time past, had breathed his last on the previous night. Haji Ibrahim was filled with great pity and took Khusro Khan under his protection. From that day he began to treat him as his son and the boy came to be known as Mirza Khusro Beg. Love and kindness were showered upon the boy and special tutors were sent for to train him up in the three R's. It was this very same Mirza Khusro Beg who had caught the eye and fancy of Akhund Ismail, the envoy from Sind. The Akhund ventured to suggest that if this boy were sent to Sind Mir Karam Ali Khan would be delighted to adopt him as his son. Haji Ibrahim Khan was, at first reluctant to part with the boy saying that he had practically adopted him as his own son, and that his wife would never agree to part with him. The Akhund mentioned the matter to his Majesty the Shah of Persia who pursuaded his minister to give permission to the boy to go to Sind. Soon the preparations for departure were made and the time came for Mirza Khusro Beg to bid farewell to his protector the Vizier. The parting scene, we read, was very touching. "Cries were heard outside (from

7. *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg.* (MS).
8. Malcolm, op. cit., II. p. 201.

the Vizier's *Harem*) and the old Vizier himself was shedding hot tears and the state of the young Mirza was not less pitiable. (9)"

By easy marches, Mirza Khusro Beg and Akhund Ismail reached Sind and were welcomed in a right royal manner in the *Durbar* of Mir Karam Ali Khan, who called the young Mirza to himself, embraced him and publicly announced the fact of having adopted the Mirza as his son. At this time Mirza Khusro Beg was only nine years old, but he had such charming manners and such a sharp intellect that he won the hearts of all who came in contact with him. Mir Karam Ali Khan gave the young Mirza a separate house to live in and a number of attendants to look after his physical comforts. Akhund Ismail was appointed as his tutor in Persian and Arabic languages.

Though the young Mirza, as the adopted child of Mir Karam Ali Khan, had everything which wealth would buy and heart desire, yet he began to languish for want of suitable companions. To remedy this, Mir Karam Ali Khan sent his envoys and merchants to Persia, who in due course of time returned with some Georgian and other boys. Among these were Mirza Fredun Beg (father of the late Mirza Kalich Beg, the grand old man of Sindhi Letters) and Mirza Kurban Ali Beg. In the company of such companions, and the atmosphere of love and affection which surrounded him, Mirza Khusro Beg began to wax strong, both physically and morally.

In 1811, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, while hunting, received a light wound from a wounded buck. The wound swelled and inspite of the efforts of the local physicians proved fatal (10). Mir Karam Ali Khan, being the elder brother, now became the *Rais* or the Chief of Sind. Under his rule, Mirza Khusro Beg, having by now grown out of his teens (11), enjoyed great favours. We learn from the *Memoirs* that he became "a powerful and influential minister in every department of the State. No one ventured to do anything in connection with the internal or foreign policy of the country, without first consulting the Mirza."

The next event, worthy of note, in Mirza Khusro Beg's life, was his visit to Bombay in 1823 as the Sind envoy. This visit has been merely referred to by Dr. Burnes in his book (12).

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9. *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg.* (MS).
10. Kalich Beg, *A History of Sind*, II. p. 212.
11. Mirza Khusro Beg was born in Tiflis in 1790 A. D. and was brought to Sind at the close of the 18th century. At the time of Mir Karam Ali Khan's becoming the *Rais*, he had reached the dignified age of twenty one years.
12. Burnes, op. cit., p. 110.

The details of this visit, though assuredly exaggerated, are to be found in the *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg*. A dispute had risen between the British Government and the Mirs of Sind, over some refugees who had taken shelter at Hyderabad in Sind. These refugees were from Jesulmir. The Mirs were required to pay Rs. 70,000 as compensation for the loss suffered by the Cutch State on account of these men. Later on when these refugees went back to their native country, of their own accord, the Mirs demanded the refund of this amount of Rs. 70,000. For this purpose, Mirza Khusro Beg was deputed to go to Bombay and settle this matter with Mountstuart Elphinstone who was the Governor of Bombay then. The Mirza had been ailing for some time also and he seized this opportunity with eagerness. The Mirza started from Hyderabad with a retinue of one hundred followers and sailed down the Indus to one of the mouths of the river. Thence he had to set sail for Bombay in large boats especially got ready for the purpose. After nine days' voyaging, Mirza Khusro Beg's boat anchored at Bombay. On his alighting from the ship, a salute of twenty-four guns was fired and some 2,000 troops presented arms. The Governor himself, accompanied by some officers had come to receive the Mirza. After the usual exchange of civilities the Mirza rode in a four-horse carriage, seated on the right-hand side of the Governor. A big bungalow had been rented and Mirza Khusro Beg was lodged there. There were frequent exchanges of visits and presents and occasionally both the Governor and the Mirza went out for "a drive." The account of the Mirza's visit to Bombay would be incomplete without narrating an incident which is very amusing, as it shows Mirza Khusro Beg's complete ignorance of the manners and customs of the *Feringhees* (Europeans). To quote from the *Memoirs*, "One night the Mirza was invited to a dance of Europeans and it was with great hesitation that he accepted the invitation. At the appointed hour the Governor came and took up the Mirza in his carriage and Muhammad Abid and Akhund Baka (13) sat in front of them. The latter had been ordered by the Mirza to carry two thousand rupees with them. As soon as the party arrived in the ball-room, the dance commenced and ladies and gentlemen began to dance by turns. When the lady of the Governor began to dance, the Mirza gave a hint to Muhammad Abid, who took up a purse of one thousand rupees and after waving it over the head of the lady placed it in the middle. The Governor told the Mirza that that was not the custom among the Englishmen.

13. These two gentlemen belonged to Thatta and had been asked by the Mirs to accompany Mirza Khusro Beg to Bombay. Vide *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg*. (MS).

But the Mirza told him that that was the custom among the Mirs of Sind and among the princes of India. A few minutes later Muhammad Abid did the same thing over again, and the Govenor remained quiet. When the dance was over the Governor took the Mirza and his two attendants back to their place....."

The embarrassment of the Governor and his wife may well be imagined, but they were all polite enough to put up with what the Mirza termed "the custom among the Mirs of Sind."

Mirza Khusro Beg remained in Bombay for three months, during which he spent no less than one lac and forty thousand rupees. The matter regarding the refund of Rs. 70,000 was amicably settled, the Mirza's health made wonderful progress, and the Mirza prepared to go back to Sind. On the day of departure once again the salute of guns was given, the troops presented arms, and the Governor wished him "Bon Voyage." In due course of time, the Mirza arrived at Hyderabad.

Mirza Khusro Beg's influence began to grow stronger and stronger day by day. In all political matters he was the first to be consulted and his sage advice was implicitly followed. People who had earned the displeasure of the Mirs would solicit the Mirza's help to restore them once again to their former position and Mirza Khusro Beg was ever obliging. This popularity and the influence of Mirza Khusro Beg is evidenced by a statement made by Dr. James Burnes, who visited the Court of Hyderabad Mirs in November 1827 (14). Dr. Burnes writes as follows :—

"The first of this class (that is to say courtiers who exert a personal influence from being constantly in private attendance on the Mirs) worthy of notice is Mirza Khoosroo.....whom his master (Mir Karam Ali Khan) now treats as an adopted child." (15).

Soon after the departure of Dr. Burnes from Sind in January 1828, Mir Karam Ali Khan fell ill. Realizing that his end was near, he called Mirza Khusro Beg by his bed-side, saying, "O my son, I am dying. As soon as death occurs, you must break into pieces, my sword, that I always carry on my waist and kill the horse and the camel that I always use for my riding... After doing this, you must proclaim my death." After the death

14. Burnes, op. cit., p. 42.
15. Ibid., p. 110.

of Mir Karam Ali Khan, the Mirza carried out the wishes of the Mir. He killed the horse, whose name was Azad, and the camel and then broke the sword on the stone fixed at the gate of the Mir's Harem-Sarai (16). Mirza Khusro Beg felt the death of his master very keenly and was, for days, inconsolable. Mir Murad Ali Khan, the last of the *Char Yari*, who now ascended the throne of Sind, assured Mirza Khusro Beg of his favour and wanted to entrust the affairs of the State to him, as his brother, the late Mir Karam Ali Khan had done. But the Mirza declined the honour, on the plea that after his master's death he was not in his proper mood and therefore could not attend to State affairs (17). Mankind has to be grateful to benign Nature which causes mental pain and sorrow to disappear after some time. Life otherwise would not be endurable. Time *is* a great healer and Mirza Khusro Beg once again began to take an active interest in affairs political. We next hear of Mirza Khusro Beg during that period of Sind history when the misunderstanding between the British Government and the Mirs of Sind had extended so far as to cause a war between the two parties unavoidable. It is evident from the volume of Correspondence relative to Sinde—1838-1843, that Mirza Khusro Beg suspected the British Government of entertaining designs of Sind conquest. In a public *durbar*, in May 1839, Mirza Khusro Beg inquired from the British Deputation how long Colonel Pottinger (the then British Resident in Sind) was to be the Mirs' ruin (18).

It is needless to go into the causes which finally brought about the Sind Conquest. We shall merely state that in January 1843, when Sir Charles Napier, after seating Mir Ali Murad Khan on the *gadi* of Khairpur, and blowing up the fort of Imamghar, considered by the Talpur Mirs of Upper Sind as their Gibraltar, started marching on Hyderabad where Mir Rustam Khan and other refugees had gone, the Mirs of Hyderabad sent Mirza Khusro Beg and another gentleman, investing them both with full powers to treat with Sir Charles Napier and avert the war. These two deputies met Sir Charles Napier at Bhiria (19). There was a long talk between these two envoys and Napier. During the course of interview, Mirza Khusro Beg got very excited and told Napier to beware of the fighting of the Baloches, which was not an easy affair. "You should be sure that Sind is

16. *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg.* (MS).
17. Ibid.
18. *Correspondence relative to Sinde*, 1838-'43.
19. *Sinde Supplementary Correspondence*, No. 40, p. 23.

not a cold pudding (20) that you would eat so easily," said the Mirza. These words exasperated Sir Charles Napier and he dismissed the envoys, saying, "I am also for war; let us see how the swords of the Baloches resist the volleys of muskets and guns." (21) The envoys were convinced that nothing but war would satisfy Sir Charles Napier, and Mirza Khusro Beg at once wrote to the Mirs at Hyderabad, "The General is bent on war; so get ready." (22)

The matters were put to the test in the Battle of Meeani fought on the 17th February, 1843, and the Mirs of Hyderabad lost heavily and surrendered themselves as prisoners of war. Four days later, a general order was issued by Sir Charles Napier, regarding taking possession of the fort of Hyderabad and of all the treasure hoarded therein (23). In accordance with this general order, some soldiers and prize-agents entered the fort and started to take possession of the vast treasures of the Mirs. Before the arrival of the soldiers, the ladies of the various, Mirs, residing in the fort collected their jewellery, ornaments and other valuable articles and buried them underground. Then they hid themselves in some other houses. Much of this hidden treasure was unearthed through the help of some faithless servants, who informed the British Prize-Agents that the ladies of the Mirs had hidden their treasure in the fort. They also informed them that Mirza Khusro Beg would be able to tell them where the treasure of Mir Karam Ali Khan was buried. Mirza Khusro Beg, who had been kept as a prisoner, along with the other Mirs, in the gardens on the bank of the river Indus, was accordingly sent for. On his arrival, he was questioned by Major McPherson, the Prize-Agent about the buried treasure. Major McPherson however made a mistake and asked the Mirza to point out to them the treasure of Mir Zangi Khan instead of Mir Karam Ali Khan. The Mirza having never heard of Mir Zangi Khan, replied that he did not know. The British officers got excited at this reply and spoke harshly with the Mirza. They called him a liar and threatened to beat him. The Mirza's face flamed in anger at this insult and leaping forward, he caught Major McPherson by the throat. With his left hand he took out the Major's sword and would have killed him but the other officers

20. The word used by the Mirza was *Halwa* a kind of confectionery. This word has been translated in English as *pudding*. This incident was remembered by Napier and he took an opportunity of humiliating the Mirza by sending him some *Halwa*, after the Sind Conquest, to remind the Mirza of his boast.
21. Kalich Beg, *History of Sind*, II, p. 229.
22. Outram, *Conquest of Scinde : Commentary*, p. 335.
23. Green, *General Orders of Sir Charles Napier*, p. 75.

rushed to the Major's rescue and tied the Mirza with a piece of rope. He was tied for two hours in the fort and was afterwards released and brought back to the gardens on the bank of Indus (24). Some few days later, while the Mirs and the Mirza were still prisoners, Sir Charles Napier entered the fort of Hyderabad and inquired from an attendant about the Mirza's residence. He went over to the Mirza's residence and asked one Akhund Baka, how many sons the Mirza had and what their names and ages were. Suddenly Napier asked Akhund Baka that he was feeling hungry and as there were children in the house, there must be some sweets in the larder. Could he get him some *Halwa* or some eatables ?. The Akhund told him that there were no sweets available in the house. It is inferred that Sir Charles Napier asked the Akhund to give him some *Halwa*, because he remembered the words of the Mirza Khusro Beg at Bhiria : "You should be sure that Sind is not a cold pudding (*Halwa*) that you would eat so easily." Now that Sind was conquered, the General wanted to eat some *Halwa*, to remind the Mirza of his boast. Next day Sir Charles Napier, purchased some *Halwa* from the *bazaar* and sent it in a covered plate, to the Mirza, with the message that not only had he after all eaten the cold *Halwa* of Sind, but he was sending him something out of it to eat. The Mirza sent back a dignified reply, saying that the *Halwa* he had referred to at Bhiria was a moral and spiritual *Halwa* which the General was not destined to taste. The dirty *Halwa* sent to him by the General was fit for being given to dogs. And he threw it before a dog in the presence of the messenger(25).

In April, 1843, the Mirs were removed from Sind as State prisoners. As their *Harems* were not allowed to accompany them, the Mirs decided between themselves to request Sir Charles Napier to allow Mirza Khusro Beg to remain behind in Sind and look after their *derahs* or Harems. Sir Charles Napier hesitated in the beginning as he considered the Mirza a likely person to cause rebellion in Sind, but at last consented to let the Mirza remain in Sind. After the departure of the Mirs, the Mirza took the *derahs* to Tando Saindad in the vicinity of Hyderabad. All the time that the Mirs were prisoners at Bombay or Calcutta, he was in frequent correspondence with them sending them comforting messages or delicacies like snuff or *Pishori* rice. These letters between the Mirza and the Mirs clearly indicate

24. *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg* (MS.), and *Sinde Supplementary Correspondence*, No. 102, Pg. 58.

25. *Memoirs of Mirza Khusro Beg*. (MS). The above incident reads like a story. I have been unable to verify it in the *Diaries* and *Life* of Sir Charles Napier. It may, therefore, be taken for what it is worth.

the esteem in which the Mirza was held by this younger generation of the Mirs. He is invariably addressed as "Dear Brother," or "Of High position and kind, in the position of our uncle," or "My kind and respectable friend." (26)

Eleven years later in 1854, the Mirs were allowed to return from Calcutta to Hyderabad. Some of the Mirs had died in their captivity, but the remaining Mirs were given pieces of land, along the bank of the Indus, near Gidu Bunder, to fix their residence there. The *derahs* of the late Mir Karam Ali Khan, however, chose to live with the Mirza and they all came to live at Tando Thoro, a village on the bank of Phuleli canal in Hyderabad Sind (27).

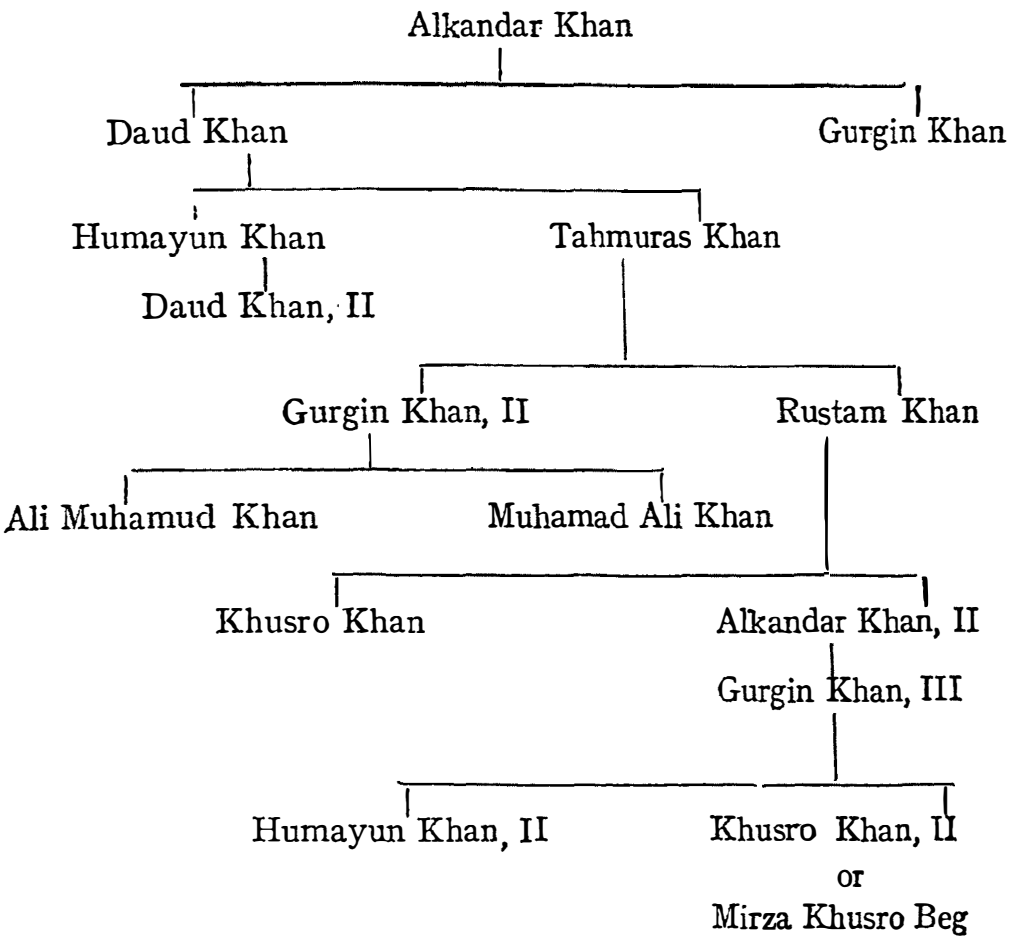
The Mirza had by now, become a respectable old man of 64 years, the patriarch of his family. After the conquest of Sind, the Mirza had led a life of retirement. Several times he was advised to approach Sir Charles Napier for some pension or *Jagir*, but this was considered by the Mirza as undignified. While settling the political affairs of the country and confirming *jagirs* and allowances on nobles and other deserving persons in Sind, Sir Charles Napier sent for Mirza Khusro Beg and evinced a desire to grant him some *jagir*. But the Mirza refused to have anything for himself. After some years when Sir Bartle Frere came to Sind, he came to Hyderabad, and called on the Mirza as the latter was suffering from boils and gangrene. Sir Bartle Frere was full of concern at the Mirza's ailment and at once sent him a European doctor. He assured the Mirza that he would get his sons some government jobs. He also recommended to the Government of Bombay that the gardens and other landed property enjoyed by the Mirza, before the Sind Conquest, should be returned to him. Of this landed property, only one garden on the bank of Phuleli was returned to the Mirza. Regarding the other property which included that area of land, on which the present Hyderabad Central Jail is situated, the Mirza was given monetary compensation.

The Mirza had reached the end of his life. The Mirs back from Calcutta, his sons settled in life, and having sufficient money to live in comfort and with dignity, he passed his days at Tando Thoro, in contented retirement. For the last seven years of his life, the Mirza was confined to bed and he passed most of his time in reading Persian and Arabic literature. He

26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.

died on 2nd Jamadissani, 1277 A. H. equivalent to 1860 A. D. at Tando Thoro and was buried in a small tomb, outside the tombs of the Mirs, at Hyderabad in Sind.

THE GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE ANCESTORS OF MIRZA KHUSRO BEG



REVIEWS.

HISTORY OF AMARKOT—SINDH ; by Tejsingh Pradhansingh Solanki, 1934. Price Rs. 1-0-0. Pp. *vi*+171.

Historical research is yet in its infancy in the Province of Sindh and hence every attempt to throw light on the history of the *Young Egypt*, is to be welcomed. *History of Amorkot* is a valuable contribution to this neglected branch of knowledge and bears ample evidence of many years' labour of patient research and study. In the very first chapter the author undertakes to correct the common error of calling *Amorkot* as *Umarkot* and then proceeds to trace the history of Amarkot from 6th century A. D. to the present day. The Sodhas, the Sumras and the various Moslem dynasties, all have had something to do with Amarkot and as we read the book the personalities of past appear clearly before us and march on in the cavalcade.

The style is lucid and the narrative, at times intensely dramatic. The district of Thar is more replete with oral tradition than any other part of Sind. These traditions have been investigated by the learned author and are found interspersed with the purely historical matter.

The chapters towards the end of the book dealing with modern Amarkot contain much useful information of statistical nature.

We would have very much desired a bibliography of the books and authorities, consulted and quoted by the author, in the beginning of the book. This would have added considerably to the usefulness of the book.

The book is bound to interest and stimulate all those who care to read it.

It is neatly printed and nicely got up.

A. B. ADVANI.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Honorary Secretaries acknowledge with thanks the following four books, presented to the Society by Dr. H. M. Gurbuxani, M.A. Ph-D.

1. Tarikh-i-Mausumi by Munshi Nandiram.
2. Tarikh-i-Masumi, translated by Major G. G. Malet.
3. Tufut-ul-kiram, by Ali Sheikh Kani.
4. Ibnu Batuta in Sindh, by Major Gnl. M. R. Haig.

IN MEMORIAM.

MR. E. L. PRICE.

(12*th January* 1935).

He lives, he wakes—'tis Death is dead, not he.—Shelly.

While we go to the Press, shocking news have come to us of the sad death of Mr. E. L. Price, B.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, C.I.E., O.B.E., Chevalier Legion d'honneur, which took place on 12th January 1935. The Sind Historical Society loses by the death of Mr. Price, one of its most loved and active members. His interest in Sind History was well known and his valuable suggestions were much appreciated. We recall, with a personal sorrow, his cheerful and genial personality and feel that a person of his intellectual vigour, personal charm, and endearing personality will be difficult to replace.

We offer our sincere condolence to Mrs. Price and other members of the family in their sad bereavement.

A. B. A.

The flower in ripen'd bloom unmatch'd
Must fall the earliest prey. BYRON.

We are sorry to have to record, besides the death of Mr. E. L. Price, the sad death of Acharaya A. T. Gidvani, M.A. (Bom). M. A. (Oxon) which took place on 13th January, 1935, at Karachi. Late Acharaya A. T. Gidvani was one of those great educationists of whom Sind, nay India, may justly feel proud. He was a member of The Sind Historical Society from its inception and would, we are sure, have proved a most valuable member, had his life been spared. He had, latterly been keeping in indifferent health, and could not therefore participate in the activities of The Sind Historical Society.

We offer sincere condolences to Mrs. Gidvani and the other members of the family in their sorrow.

A. B. A.

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